

CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT SICYON

BY

CHARLES H. SKALET

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Board of University Studies of the Johns
Hopkins University in Conformity with the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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(Extract from a complete volume published by the Johns Hopkins Press.)

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CHAPTER I

SITUATION AND TOPOGRAPHY

Situation and Present Remains

Sicyon was the chief city of Sicyonia, the territory which adjoined that of Corinth on the west. Between the two cities, and contiguous with the coast of the Gulf of Corinth and the hills running parallel to it on the south, lies a fertile and famous coastal plain, intersected at several points by streams which cross it in deeply worn beds and flow parallel to each other to the Corinthian Gulf on the north. Of these parallel rivers crossing the coastal plain, the most westerly, the largest and the most important is the Asopus.¹ Rising some miles to the south from springs in the declivities of Mount Carneates, a part of the high Mount Celossa,² it flows at first as a calm and quiet rivulet in a grassy bed across an inland plain surrounded by lofty mountains. This was the district of Phliasia. Leaving this level expanse it encounters a high conglomerate plateau which rises to its greatest height with Mount Spiria. Through the plateau it cuts a narrow glen in which its waters rush laden with argillaceous soil washed down from the steep sides of the mountains above and finally, issuing from its deep narrow glen, flows through a gorge in the tableland and across the coastal plain of Asopia³ to the Corinthian Gulf. This lower valley of the Asopus was the principal part of the district of Sicyonia.

¹ The present Hagios Georgios.

² Strabo, VIII, 382; Eust. on *Il.* II, 572; Paus. II, 5, 2. Celossa is the modern Megalo-Vouno and Carneates the modern Polyphengo. Cf. Curtius, *Pelop.* II, pp. 468, 479; Bursian, *Geog.* II, p. 32.

³ Strabo, VIII, 382; IX, 408; Paus. II, 1, 1; 5, 2; Eust. *l. c.* Asopia is the modern plain of Vochoa. Cf. Philippson, *Der Peloponnes*, p. 118.

The mountains on either side of the lower Asopus incline to the sea, not in a continuous slope, but in a succession of abrupt descents and level terraces three of which are 523, 326 and 164 metres above sea-level.⁴ Each terrace with its curving shape and approximately equal altitude throughout is separated from the following lower one by one or more steep descents to the north forming a series of nearly uniform steps. At the last of these terraces where the Asopus issues from the gorge into the coastal plain there stretches westward to the narrow glen of the Helisson a spacious tableland. On this, between the gorges of the Asopus and the Helisson rivers, stood the ancient city of Sicyon.⁵ The tableland,—roughly triangular in shape with its apex turned towards the hills on the south and its base fronting the sea on the north,—is between three and four miles in circumference. It is divided into two levels by a rocky slope which extends quite across it from east to west forming an abrupt separation between the two levels.⁶ Prior to 303 B. C. the extensive northern and lower terrace formed the acropolis while the main portion of the city stood in the plain at the foot of the large plateau on which the acropolis was located. In the rear of this lower terrace, to the south, a smaller one rises having about one-third the area of the lower. In 303 B. C. when the city fell into the hands of Demetrius Poliorcetes, the site of

⁴ For a profile view see Philippon, *op. cit.* p. 118, fig. 16.

⁵ The site of Sicyon and its ruins have been described by several travellers and archaeologists among whom the following have been consulted; Dodwell, *Tour Through Greece*, II, pp. 293-297; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, pp. 15 ff.; Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, III, pp. 355-373; L. Ross, *Reisen und Reiserouten durch Griechenland*, pp. 46-48; Curtius, *Pelop.* II, pp. 483-498; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* pp. 337-344; Bursian, *Geog. von Gr.* II, pp. 25-30; Frazer, *Paus.* III, pp. 43 ff.; V, pp. 546-549; McMurtry, *A. J. A.* V, 1889, pp. 269-271; Baedeker, *Greece*³, p. 306; Guides-Joanne, *Grèce*², p. 335. Special articles will be referred to in the section on the topography and monuments.

⁶ See sketch of the site in Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, III (end).

the city was changed.⁷ Probably for the reason that the population had become so reduced in numbers as to be inadequate for the defense of the extent of wall around the lower city, he razed the town in the plain below and caused the citizens to build upon their original acropolis. Upon the smaller and somewhat more elevated plateau immediately behind it he placed his own acropolis and fortified the height by means of a wall, portions of which are still to be seen. On this new site, about two miles⁸ back from the Gulf of Corinth, where it was naturally protected on every side by a wall of precipices which admit only of one or two narrow ascents into it from the plain below, and supplied with the material advantage of an abundance of water, the city continued to remain throughout the rest of classical times.

Recent visitors⁹ have observed that few ancient cities were more advantageously or beautifully situated than Sicyon. "Built on a spacious and level tableland, defended on every side by cliffs, abundantly supplied with water, at a distance both safe and convenient from the sea, from which it was divided only by a strip of fertile plain, across which blew the cool refreshing breezes from the water to temper the summer heat, the city possessed a site secure, wholesome, and adapted both for agriculture and commerce. Nor are the natural beauties of the site less remarkable than its more material advantages. Behind it rise wooded mountains, and in front of it, across the narrow plain, is stretched the wonderful panorama of the Corinthian Gulf, with Helicon, Cithaeron, and Parnassus towering beyond it to the north, and

⁷ Diod. XX, 102; Plut. *Demet.* 25; Strabo, VIII, 382; Paus. II, 7, 1.

⁸ Strabo's statement (*l. c.*) that it was twenty stadia from the sea evidently refers to the new location. The site of the new acropolis is determined by Pausanias' statement (II, 7, 5) that the theater lay under the acropolis.

⁹ Curtius, *Pelop.* II, pp. 488-489; McMurtry, *A. J. A.* V, 1889, pp. 269-270; Frazer, *Paus.* III, p. 45. Frazer's description is quoted below.

the mighty rock of Acro-Corinth barring the prospect on the east. At sunrise and sunset especially the scene is said to be one of indescribable loveliness. The ancients themselves were not insensible to the charms of Sicyon. 'A lovely and fruitful city, adapted to every recreation,' says a scholiast on Homer,¹⁰ and Diodorus¹¹ speaks of Sicyon as a place for peaceful enjoyment."

On the site of Sicyon, as seen today, there are, scattered here and there over the lower and the upper plateau, numerous ruins.¹² On the upper plateau, the acropolis of the city founded by Demetrius, only a few foundations appear and it is probable that there was never a great number of buildings here as Pausanias¹³ mentions only two temples on this height. The squared blocks of a fortification wall standing in several places to a height of two or three regular horizontal courses along the western edge above the glen of the Helisson, prove that the wall originally ran all along the western face of the acropolis. At the southwest end of this acropolis there was probably a gate; an ancient wall two courses high still stands on the west side of a hollow leading southward to the narrow ridge which connects the plateau with the hills. On the eastern side of the acropolis there are indications that the ancient wall was not extensive for the obvious reason that

¹⁰ Eust. on *Il.* II, 572.

¹¹ XX, 102. Callimachus (*fr.* 195) calls it the abode of the blessed; in the *Iliad* (XXIII, 299) it is referred to as *εὐρύχωρος*; Pindar (*Nem.* IX, 53), referring to the sacred games, calls it *ιερός*, while Philemon and Arcestratus give it the epithet *φίλη* (Athen. VII, p. 289 a. 293 f).

¹² For descriptions of the ruins of Sicyon see n. 5. The best descriptions are Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, III, pp. 355 ff.; Curtius, *Pelop.* II, pp. 489 ff.; Bursian, *Geog.* II, pp. 25 ff.; Frazer, *Paus.* III, pp. 43 ff., V. pp. 546-549.

¹³ II, 7, 5. See p. 11. The foundations of a temple with cella and portico (about 15 feet deep) can be clearly distinguished today, about 40 ft. long by 18 ft. wide, just above the theater. This is probably the temple of Fortune, though one would like to call it the Dionysium.

the precipice rendered fortification unnecessary. On the northern and lower plateau on which stood the city, as distinguished from the acropolis, insignificant remains of a fortification wall can be seen on the western, northern and eastern edges but though Frazer says that no traces of a wall dividing the acropolis from the lower city appear to have been found, interesting remains of such a wall have recently come to light.¹⁴

In the rocky slope between the upper and lower level near the western edge of the tableland are the conspicuous remains of the theater and stadium.¹⁵ To the east of the theater, in the same declivity, are the mouths of several subterranean aqueducts whose passages can be penetrated for considerable distances. The arches and pillars of an aqueduct which conveyed water from the hills to be distributed through the city by these subterranean channels can still be seen on the narrow ridge which unites the extreme point of the acropolis with the heights to the south.¹⁶ That these underground channels were made on a large scale in the soft rock at Sicyon is attested by the fact that the third century tyrant Nicocles escaped through one of them when Aratus freed the city.¹⁷

The remains on the lower level, i. e., of the city founded by Demetrius as distinct from the acropolis, are very considerable and scattered over a wide area. On the northeastern edge of this plateau stands the Albanian village of Vasilikó, a name which doubtless originated from the extensive ruins nearby. As already mentioned, remains of the circuit-wall, eight feet in thickness, still exist on the northern, western and eastern edges. Most noticeable are the foundations of houses and larger buildings lying with such exactness in

¹⁴ Frazer, *Paus.* V, p. 546; III, p. 45.

¹⁵ See pp. 11-15.

¹⁶ Frazer, *Paus.* III, p. 45. On the subterranean water channels see also Curtius, *op. cit.* II, p. 491; Philadelphus, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1919, p. 99.

¹⁷ Plut. *Aratus*, IX, 2.

straight lines from northeast to southwest or from northwest to southeast that it is clear that the Demetrian city was built on a regular plan with streets intersecting each other at right angles.¹⁸ The best preserved remains on the lower terrace are those of a large building of Roman date some 200 paces north of the theater. The walls, varying from 0.59 m. to 1.09 m. in thickness, as measured by Professor Robinson, are built of bricks laid flat with mortar between and stand to a height of eight to twelve feet. In them are large quadrangular windows and small arched doorways. Some of the walls, built of stone concrete, belong to a later repair. The building itself with its many large chambers is thought to have been a public bath.¹⁹ Remains of other buildings on the lower level which excavation has recently brought to light will be discussed below.²⁰ The most important are a rock sanctuary, a large portico, or, according to Professor Robinson, a temple, and a hypostyle hall thought to be the Bouleuterium which Pausanias mentions. Besides, remains of the long walls and a Roman house with a niche cut out of the scarped rock and mosaic floors have been uncovered.

The remains of the older city of Sicyon which stood in the plain between the tableland and the sea are very few. It was this part of the city that Demetrius razed. Vineyards now cover the plain, but some vestiges of antiquity are reported from Moúliki, and Vischer²¹ observed, near the church of St. Nicholas below Vasilikó, some pieces of columns and an ancient altar. Earle²² excavated with little consequence some ancient tombs on the slope of the plateau toward the

¹⁸ See Boblaye, *Expédition scientifique de Morée, archit. et sculpture*, III, 1838, plate LXXXI; Fossum, *A. J. A.* IX, 1905, p. 272; Haverfield, *Ancient Town-planning*, pp. 48-49; Naber, *Mnemosyne*, XLVII, 1919, p. 29.

¹⁹ Frazer, *Paus.* III, p. 45; V, p. 547.

²⁰ Pp. 16-17.

²¹ Quoted in Frazer, *Paus.* III, p. 46.

²² *A. J. A.* V, 1889, pp. 287-288.

Asopus south of Vasilikó, on the slope of the plateau above Mouílki and at Mikré Brýsis, and Arvanitopoulos²³ has uncovered some grave monuments and inscriptions in this region which antedate the period of Demetrius (303 B. C.).

Of the harbor town there are no remains. In ancient times it must have had special fortifications of its own because it could be held by troops apart from Sicyon as was done by Pammenes, the Theban, in 369 B. C.²⁴ and soon after by the tyrant Euphron who surrendered it to the Lacedaemonians from whom it was regained by the Sicyonians with Arcadian allies.²⁵ Still the old city appears to have adjoined the harbor in Demetrius's time.²⁶ The harbor is now sanded up and marked only by a marsh.²⁷ Deeper water and the lighter draft vessels of ancient times, however, must have made it accessible for we find repeated mention of the Sicyonian fleet and even Pausanias's²⁸ words ἐς τὸν Σικυνώνιον καλούμενον λιμένα may not be derogatory but the word λιμὴν may here be used as a proper name.²⁹ Throughout classical times Sicyon consisted of three parts, an acropolis, a lower town at its foot and the harbor town upon the coast.

Topography and Monuments of Sicyon

As a result of the vicissitudes through which the city passed in the war between Sparta and Thebes, under the rule of Hellenistic kings and intermittent local tyrants, through its removal to a new site by Demetrius and devastations by its enemies, and finally because of a disastrous earthquake in the second century of our era, the remains of Sicyon, even

²³ Πρακτικά, 1908, pp. 146-149.

²⁴ Polyæn. V, 16, 3; Frontin. III, 2, 10; Aen. Tact. 29, 12.

²⁵ Xen. *Hell.* VII, 3, 1-3; 4, 1.

²⁶ Diod. XX, 102, 2.

²⁷ Bursian, *op. cit.* II, p. 30.

²⁸ II, 12, 2.

²⁹ Cf. Curtius, *op. cit.* II, p. 497.

at that time, represented only small and disconnected portions of the ancient city. Yet when Pausanias passed through it in the second century A. D. he found it, he tells us, though a place of small population, still in possession of notable buildings and precious works of art. To convey some idea of the topography and monuments of the city and surroundings we shall follow his narrative as a logical and convenient guide.

Pausanias came to Sicyon from Corinth.³⁰ Beside the road leading to the city he saw an earthen mound marking the tomb of Lycus, a Messenian, and proceeds in his narrative to contrast this with the architectural arrangement of the sepulchral tombs of native Sicyonians. Over the grave they built a basis of stone and upon this erected columns which supported a superstructure like the gables of temples. They carved no other inscription than the name of the deceased, without that of his father, and the word 'Farewell'. His description of these is confirmed and illustrated by graves found in that vicinity³¹ and by the evidence of Sicyonian coins,³² on some of which tombs are figured. On these coins we see a basis or pedestal, apparently round; on it, four pillars erected supporting a gable or pediment. On each side of the tomb stands a stiff figure and a cypress tree. The remark of Pausanias that they carved on the stone the simple name of the deceased in the nominative case without an added genitive of the father's name followed by *χαῖρε* is illustrated by two fragmentary epitaphs found by Earle³³ in 1891 on the site of Sicyon.

After crossing to the west side of the Asopus and noting to his right the Olympieum and a little farther on to the left the grave of the Athenian comic poet Eupolis,³⁴ our

³⁰ Paus. II, 7, 2. Cf. II, 5, 5.

³¹ Arvanitopoulos, *Πρακτικά*, 1908, p. 150. See also n. 35.

³² Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *J. H. S.* VI, 1885, p. 77 with Pl. LIII, H, I and II; Frazer, *Paus.* III, p. 46, fig. 16.

³³ *Cl. Rev.* VI, 1892, p. 134.

³⁴ Paus. II, 7, 3. Either it was not the grave of the famous poet

guide turned and proceeded in the direction of the city past the tomb of Xenodice and graves of the Sicyonians who fell in battles waged by the Achaean League. Pausanias' remark about the tomb of Xenodice, a woman who had died in child-birth, that it was specially adapted to suit the painting adorning it, is of considerable interest for Sicyonian art. Reasoning from the form of the beautifully painted grave stelae from Pagasae in Thessaly, and from the process of painting practised by the Sicyonian Pausias, and from the identity of theme represented on Xenodice's tomb at Sicyon and that of one at Pagasae, Arvanitopoulos, who has most fully investigated the matter, has concluded that a number of the Pagasaeon monuments were painted by Sicyonian artists of the Hellenistic period.³⁵

Approaching from the northeastern side of Sicyon, and designating the gate through which he entered the city as being at a spring in a grotto, called the Dripping Spring,³⁶

of the Old Comedy, or the grave Pausanias saw was rather a monument erected in his honor. Cf. Kaibel, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.* VI, p. 1230.

³⁵ 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1908, pp. 1-60. Pl. 1-4. See especially pp. 23-31 and Pl. I. Arvanitopoulos' argument may be right that also the tombs of native Sicyonians (Paus. II, 7, 2) were decorated with paintings. The one on Xenodice's tomb escaped removal by the Romans (Pliny, *N. H.* XXXV, 127) for sentimental or other reasons.

³⁶ II, 7, 4. The Dripping Spring has never been identified with certainty. Bursian (*Geog.* II, p. 27 n. 2) places it in a gorge west of Vasilikó; Frazer (*Paus.* III, p. 48), both because of the natural formations and the fact that Pausanias came from Corinth, has reasons for placing it near the northeast side of Sicyon. Earle (*A. J. A.* V, 1889, p. 287) thinks it was the present spring, Mikrè Brýsis, now concealed by a Turkish wall, north of Vasilikó, where dripping can be heard through a small opening in the wall. For other attempts to identify it see Dodwell, *Tour Through Greece*, II, p. 295; Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, II, p. 372; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 343 f. Yet the spring seen by Pausanias may have disappeared, due to the falling in of the roof and rocks because of earthquakes

Pausanias went directly across the ledge of rocks dividing the lower from the upper level and ascended to the second or new acropolis. From here on his description follows a strict topographical sequence ³⁷—the new acropolis—the new agora—the old acropolis—the old agora. From the acropolis of his day ³⁸ on the higher level he proceeded to the north, observing on the rocky slope the theater and Dionysium. As he passed from the Dionysium along the street leading to the new agora he saw on the right a temple of Artemis.³⁹ Having entered the new agora he describes ⁴⁰ as standing there the largest group of buildings and statues. From this agora he digressed in his course to the gymnasium⁴¹ not far from the market-place, then to temples of Asclepius and Aphrodite and finally to the gymnasium of Clinias. Thence he proceeded to the old acropolis⁴² on which he describes the most ancient monuments of the Sicyonians. From the old acropolis he went down into the plain⁴³ to the old agora with its three ancient temples and with that his tour of the city was completed.

We now return to the acropolis.⁴⁴ Here Pausanias noticed the two temples of Fortune of the Height and of the Dioscuri,

as Curtius thinks. He thinks the spring and gate were on the edge of the glen of the Asopus near the chapel of Holy Trinity. (*Pelop.* II, p. 488).

³⁷ Robert (*Pausanias als Schriftsteller*, p. 118) chooses Sicyon as a classical example of Pausanias' acropolis-type of topographical description.

³⁸ Paus. II, 7, 5.

³⁹ Paus. II, 7, 6.

⁴⁰ Paus. II, 7, 7 ff.

⁴¹ Paus. II, 10, 1 ff.

⁴² Paus. II, 11, 1. Cf. II, 5, 6.

⁴³ Paus. II, 11, 2. Cf. II, 5, 6.

⁴⁴ See the sketch of the site of Sicyon in Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, III (end) and in Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, s. v. Sicyon.

in both of which the images were of wood.⁴⁵ On Sicyonian coins of Imperial times ⁴⁶ the goddess Fortune of the Height is represented standing and holding a patera and cornucopia. Of buildings only a few fragments of foundations remain.⁴⁷ And since Pausanias mentions but two temples here and so few foundations appear, it is most probable that there was never a great number of buildings on the upper acropolis. Professor Robinson, however, made out clearly the foundations of a temple with cella and portico, probably the temple of Fortune.

Regarding the theater at Sicyon Pausanias ⁴⁸ simply states that it stands at the foot of the acropolis and that on the stage is the statue of a man with a shield said to represent Aratus, the son of Clinias. The mere notices that it was filled by a concourse of people on the morning after Aratus' night surprise on Sicyon in 251 B. C.⁴⁹ and that it served as the assembly-place for a meeting of the Achaean League ⁵⁰ in 168 B. C. are the only other literary references to it from ancient times. Still the scanty ancient allusions are compensated for to a greater extent in the case of the theater than any other building in Sicyon, for of all the ruined structures there it has always been the most conspicuous and has been often described.⁵¹ Moreover its excavation by the Americans in comparatively recent times has in part revealed its architectural structure and made it possible to fix approximately the date of the building.⁵²

⁴⁵ Paus. II, 7, 5.

⁴⁶ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *J. H. S.* VI, 1885, p. 77 with Pl. LIII, H, III.

⁴⁷ So Curtius, *op. cit.* II, p. 491.

⁴⁸ II, 7, 5.

⁴⁹ Plut. *Arat.* VIII.

⁵⁰ Polyb. XXIX, 10, 2.

⁵¹ Especially by Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, III, pp. 369-371; Curtius, *Pelop.* II, pp. 489-490; Bursian, *Geog.* II, pp. 27-28.

⁵² Cf. McMurtry, *A. J. A.* V, 1889, pp. 267-286 with Pl. VI, VII, IX; Earle, *A. J. A.* V, 1889, pp. 286-292; *A. J. A.* VII, 1891, pp.

Here as in other places the architect adapted the natural configuration of the ground to suit his purpose and excavated in the north slope near the western cliffs a large hollow in the rocky declivity separating the upper from the lower tableland and faced the structure to the northeast thus affording the spectator the beautiful view of the waters of the gulf to the north and of the mountain peaks beyond. Its total breadth is over 400 feet. The seats are mostly cut out of the rock but only a few of the lower tiers of the western half have been uncovered. The front row of seats is a series of stone benches of poros with backs and arms. Some are decorated with scroll work on the outer side of the arms of each bench and show by their superior construction that they were honor seats for priests or other officials, resembling in this respect, the benches at Epidaurus. The total number of tiers of seats, about sixty in all,⁵³ was divided vertically, at least in the excavated section, into fifteen wedges by sixteen stairways. Horizontally the auditorium was divided into three sections by two diazomata. Access to the lower diazoma was through two vaulted passages that penetrate the sides of the auditorium. The upper section was reached by going around the ends. The original length of the eastern passage was about 16 m., the width is 2.55 m. Since they stand to a height of six courses on either side, exclusive of the keystone course, and are built of rectangular blocks laid without mortar, these vaults are today important specimens of true Greek arches.

The orchestra, comprising somewhat more than half the circumference of a not entirely perfect circle, the diameter of which is 24.04 m.,⁵⁴ had a surface consisting simply of stamped earth. An elaborate drainage system was devised. Running

281-282; *A. J. A.* VIII, 1893, pp. 388-396 with Pl. XIII; Brownson and Young, *A. J. A.* VIII, 1893, pp. 397-409 with Pl. XIII; Fossum, *A. J. A.* IX, 1905, pp. 263-276 with Pl. VIII, IX.

⁵³ Fossum, *l. c.* p. 264.

⁵⁴ Fossum, *l. c.* p. 265. See plate VIII for the plan.

around the orchestra in front of the honor benches is a carefully constructed drain about 1.25 m. wide and 1 m. deep, bridged by a slab of stone opposite each of the stairs to give access to the seats as in the Dionysiac theater at Athens. At each end of this water canal there seems to have stood an altar or fountain which discharged its waste-water into a shallow drain crossing the orchestra parallel to the proscenium wall. This emptied into a third drain which extended right across the centre of the orchestra at right angles to the stage buildings under which it passed and debouched somewhere to the right, probably into one of the old subterranean waterways of the plateau. From the square basin in the middle of the orchestra where the drains intersect, extending back to a point under the stage buildings, is an underground passage terminating in a staircase of which some steps are preserved. This passage has usually been considered as a means of allowing the actors to pass unseen from the stage buildings to the middle of the orchestra in the manner of the Charon stairs at Eretria and Magnesia on the Meander.⁵⁵

Fossum's excavation of the lower parts of the existing stage buildings and the abutting foundations on the east and west sides revealed remains of both the parascenia, the double gateway of the west ramp and parodos and made possible the approximate dating of the earliest structure. Stone ramps cut from the native rock leading up to a height of 3.25 m. to the proscenium point to the conclusion that the height of the proscenium⁵⁶ was eleven Roman feet, conforming to the mean of the rule of Vitruvius (V, 7, 2) that the podium is not to be less than ten nor more than twelve feet high. Back of these another pair of ramps led into the second story of the scene-building. Most important was the finding of stone supports for the older proscenium which

⁵⁵ So Dörpfeld und Reisch, *Das Griechische Theater*, p. 120. But Fossum informs me that he thinks the passage served only for drainage.

⁵⁶ Cf. Fossum, *l. c.* Pl. IX for plan and elevation.

necessitates the discarding of the old theory of a wooden proscaenium, while the finding of the older remains of half-columns is evidence for the continuance of the first proscaenium until the time of Roman reconstruction.

The date of the structure can be fixed only approximately. The literary allusions to it refer to events in 251 B. C. and 168 B. C. while its mention by Pausanias may be referred to about the middle of the second century of our era. Excavation has shown that it antedates the year 303 B. C. when Sicyon was moved to the plateau of the former acropolis and rebuilt on a regular plan with streets crossing at right angles. Since it stands neither parallel with the streets nor at an angle of forty-five degrees to them, the conclusion is that the theater stood there before 303 B. C. This date is confirmed by a comparison of its architectural features with the theater at Epidaurus. From similarities of construction it is evident that the architect of the one was familiar with the other, but the antiquated forms of the water canal and other features show that the theater at Sicyon was the earlier one, thus bringing it well into the fourth century. Its Roman rebuilding probably dates from the period after the destruction of Corinth when a part of Corinthia was given to Sicyon and the city gained in political significance.⁵⁷

The next point of interest in this vicinity are the remains of the stadium which Pausanias does not mention. It lies below the acropolis to the west, but its upper or semicircular end occupies a fold or recess in the same rocky slope against which the theater is built. The recess is partly natural, partly hollowed out. As it has not been excavated, the observation of Leake⁵⁸ is quoted below: "The stadium resembles that of Messene, in having had seats which were not continued through the whole length of the sides. About eighty feet of the rectilinear extremity had no seats, and this part, instead of being excavated out of the hill like the rest, is formed of

⁵⁷ Fossum, *l. c.* pp. 271-276.

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.* III, p. 370.

factitious ground, supported at the end by a wall of polygonal masonry, which still exists. The total length, including the seats at the circular end, is about 680 feet, which, deducting the radius of the semicircle, seems hardly to leave a length of 600 Greek feet for the line between the two metæ. It is very possible, however, that an excavation would correct this idea; for it is difficult to believe that there was any difference in the length of the line of the dromos, or course, in the several stadia of Greece, however dissimilar the stadia may have otherwise been in magnitude, or in their capacity for containing spectators. If the length of the course had ever varied, it must, I think, have been alluded to in some of the ancient authors." Professor Robinson says, however, that Leake must have omitted from his reckoning the extension supported by the wall, as it is about 680 feet to the cross walls where the extension begins but with the artificial extension the distance is 822 feet. It would be interesting to know, in view of the Pythian games founded by Cleisthenes at Sicyon,⁵⁹ whether the agonistic celebrations connected with them took place at this stadium.

Designating the locality as being beyond the theater, Pausanias⁶⁰ noted a temple of Dionysus with an image of the god in gold and ivory and beside it female Bacchantes in white marble. The nearness of this temple to the theater shows that here as in so many Greek cities the theater belonged to the sacred precinct of Dionysus. If the temple that Pausanias saw was the temple of the god to whom Cleisthenes gave the tragic choruses taken from Adrastus⁶¹ he was viewing a very ancient landmark. The temple has not been found but Leake⁶² saw the basis of a column, together with that of one of the antæ, of a small temple just below the proscenium of the theater. He thought that this may have been

⁵⁹ Schol. Pindar, *Nem.* IX, 20, 25; X, 49, 76.

⁶⁰ II, 7, 5.

⁶¹ Herod. V, 67.

⁶² *Op. cit.* III, pp. 369, 371.

part of the temple of Dionysus. Sicyonian coins of Imperial times represent Dionysus standing, holding a goblet and a thyrsus, with a panther at his feet.⁶³ On the coins of Julia Domna in Sicyon there occurs a frenzied Bacchante which Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner⁶⁴ have pointed to as a reproduction of one of the marble Bacchantes seen by Pausanias beside the image of Dionysus. Furtwängler⁶⁵ states that the type of Bacchante copied on Sicyonian coins agrees so well with epigrams⁶⁶ describing a Maenad of Scopas, not assigned by tradition to any special place, that he believes it belonged to Sicyon and thinks it probable that Pausanias omitted the name of the artist, who was Scopas. A statuette in Dresden, published by Treu,⁶⁷ has been quite generally accepted as a copy of this work of Scopas.

Excavations on the lower plateau at various points, not easily determined from reports, have uncovered the remains of some ancient buildings. At one of these places American operations⁶⁸ in 1886 cleared a floor, paved with slabs of black and white marble, of what must have been a building of elaborate construction. Recently Dr. Philadelphus has excavated here with some success.⁶⁹ Below the north slope of the acropolis he has cleared a small rock sanctuary with niches for votive offerings. Beside it was a spring and an ancient cistern whence water was led in pipes to the town and agora. North of this sanctuary, bordering on a street

⁶³ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *J. H. S.* VI, 1885, p. 77 with Pl. LIII, H, IV and V.

⁶⁴ *J. H. S.* VI, 1885, p. 78 with Pl. LIII, H, VI, VII.

⁶⁵ *Masterpieces*, pp. 396-397.

⁶⁶ *Anth. Pal.* IX, 774; XVI, 60. Cf. Callistrat. *Stat.* 2.

⁶⁷ *Melanges Perrot*, pp. 312-324, Pl. V. Cf. Gardner, *Six Greek Sculptors*, Pl. LII; *Handbook*, fig. 107. See further, Six, *Jahrbuch*, XXXIII, 1918, pp. 38-48 where he identifies a copy on a relief in Copenhagen.

⁶⁸ McMurtry, *A. J. A.* V, 1889, p. 281.

⁶⁹ *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1919, p. 99. Cf. *B. C. H.* XLIV, 1920, pp. 383-384; L, 1926, pp. 174-182, figs. 1-4.

leading to the acropolis, he has uncovered the foundations of a large portico, probably a temple, which should be completely and properly excavated. Through it ran a stuccoed water canal with basins here and there to catch the sediment in the water. The discoverer states that the blocks have a form characteristic of those of Hellenistic times, hence this can not be the portico of Cleisthenes mentioned by Pausanias,⁷⁰ but one that dates from or after the time of Demetrius Poliorcetes. From that period dates a base found with the inscription ΠΑΛΙΑΝΣΩΣ ||- ΜΟΣΑΝΕ. About 200 feet northeast of this portico and west of the present village of Vasilikó the same excavator has uncovered the foundations of a hypostyle hall which he thinks may be the Bouleuterium mentioned by Pausanias.⁷¹ A brief description of this hall follows on pages nineteen and twenty.

Following the itinerary of Pausanias⁷² we proceed down on the lower plateau where, east and northeast of the theater, amidst the numerous foundations of buildings one can still see the outline of streets intersecting each other at right angles. It was probably on the principal one of these, which apparently ran from southwest to northeast, that Pausanias travelled past the temple of Artemis Limnaia to the agora.⁷³ Of the temple of Artemis the roof had fallen already before his visit and the image was gone, no one knew where. Now arrived at the market-place, Pausanias came to a sanctuary of Peitho, also without an image. The temple of Apollo near it was originally founded by Proetus, but this, with its dedications—Meleager's spear and the flutes of Marsyas—had been destroyed by fire. The new temple and image which existed in the time of Pausanias had been dedicated by Pythocles who is probably the sculptor mentioned by Pliny⁷⁴ in the list of artists who revived the art of sculpture after Ol. 156 (156 B. C.). But whether or not the Imperial

⁷⁰ II, 9, 6.⁷¹ II, 9, 6.⁷² II, 7, 6.⁷³ Bursian, *op. cit.* II, pp. 28-29.⁷⁴ *N. H.* XXXIV, 52.

coins from Sicyon representing Apollo in citharoedic dress and holding the lyre reproduce the statue by Pythocles is unknown.⁷⁵ Apollo appears to have been an important deity in Sicyon; the hill of the archer Apollo is connected with the legend of the slaying of the Python there and on the festival of his purification a procession of boys and girls went to the Sythas to offer supplication.⁷⁶ In Pausanias' day the festival was still observed and it is tempting to believe that we have in the coins peculiar to Sicyon for a period of 400 years the reproduction of a Sicyonian work of art representing one of these suppliant youths.⁷⁷ Pindar alludes to Apollo, and to the hill of Sicyon by the Asopus in his ode in honor of a victory at Sicyon in the chariot race by Chromius of Aetna in the lines:⁷⁸ 'But we shall arouse the sounding lyre and the flute to tell of the very prime of equestrian contests which Adrastus founded in honor of Phoebus by the stream of the Asopus.' In the time of Polybius there stood near the temple of Apollo a colossal statue of King Attalus I, ten cubits high, which the people set up out of gratitude, because he had ransomed for them the sacred land of Apollo at a great price. In 197 B. C., for other benefits, the Sicyonians had voted him a golden statue and an annual sacrifice.⁷⁹ Since the statues are not mentioned by Pausanias, it is likely that they had disappeared by his time.

Near the temple of Peitho was a precinct consecrated to the Roman Emperors; it was once the house of the third-century tyrant, Cleon.⁸⁰ Leake⁸¹ sought to identify with this precinct the ruins of the large brick building of Roman date, situated 200 paces north of the theater, conjecturing that it

⁷⁵ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *J.H.S.* VI, 1885, p. 78.

⁷⁶ Hesychius, s. v. τοῦτον βουρὸς; Paus. II, 7, 7. 8.

⁷⁷ Cf. Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *l. c.* and Pl. LIII, H, VIII, IX.

⁷⁸ *Nem.* IX, 9.

⁷⁹ Polyb. XVIII, 16.

⁸⁰ Paus. II, 8, 1.

⁸¹ *Op. cit.* III, pp. 369, 371.

was the palace of the Roman governor in the interval between the destruction of Corinth by Mummius and its restoration by Julius Caesar, for during this period a great part of the Corinthian territory was attached to Sicyon as the capital. But the small arched doorways, large quadrangular windows, and the many large chambers within, some of which have semi-circular ends, lead Frazer⁸² to think that it contained public baths.

Before the precinct sacred to the Roman Emperors Pausanias⁸³ saw the shrine of the hero Aratus, 'a man who achieved greater things than any Greek of his time.' We know from Plutarch⁸⁴ that the ancient law at Sicyon forbade burial within the city walls, but the Sicyonians, moved by gratitude and admiration for their greatest statesman, obtained the permission of Delphi and interred him in the market-place where he was honored twice annually as the founder and savior of their city. Near his shrine stood an altar to Isthmian Poseidon, and images of Zeus Meilichios and Paternal Artemis, the former resembling a pyramid, the latter a column.⁸⁵ They evidently date from the time when this was the acropolis of the old city, before Demetrius made it the site of the new one.

In the agora Pausanias saw the Bouleuterium and the stoa of Cleisthenes.⁸⁶ About the latter we have the information that he built it from the spoils of the Sacred War in behalf of Delphi.⁸⁷ Of a building which may be the Bouleuterium enough has been recently uncovered to reconstruct a ground

⁸² Paus. III, p. 45 and V, p. 547.

⁸³ II, 8, 1.

⁸⁴ *Aratus*, LIII. Cf. Polyb. VIII, 14, 8.

on Cults.

⁸⁵ Paus. II, 9, 6.

⁸⁶ Paus. II, 9, 6. The large stoa found in this vicinity is not thought to be that of Cleisthenes. *Philadelphus*, 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1919, p. 99. Cf. also *B. C. H. L.*, 1926, p. 181.

⁸⁷ Paus. II, 9, 6. Cf. X, 37, 6. See also pp. 55-56.

plan.⁸⁸ At a place a little west of the village of Vasilikó lie the foundations of a wall of native poros forming a rectangle 40.50 m. by 33.25 m. with its main axis running northwest and southeast. Within are the bases of twelve columns of Ionic order. Remains of one show that its original height was about 10 m. The columns were disposed from east to west in four rows of three columns each. The interior arrangement is peculiar. Between the two middle columns and the two exterior columns on the east side are rows of benches on a slightly inclined floor. The benches are of earth covered with thick stucco. There are six benches on the east and five on the north and south sides respectively. Their length varies; the first two on the north and south, and the first three on the east, all standing between columns, are a little less than six metres long; those to the rear increase so the last are about eleven metres. In the space between the front benches and the square foundation on the west side of them, are two other benches of the same material, but one is horseshoe-shaped and surrounds the other which is semi-circular. Their diameters are 4.6 m. and ca. 3 m. respectively. On the west, opposite these circular seats, between the two middle columns and the two corresponding columns to the west, the excavator cleared a foundation laid in a square. On the east side of the central exterior columns of the north and south sides of the building were found what seem to be two rectangular basins of stuccoed tufa one metre in length. Water was conveyed to them by a pipe from a source at the foot of the acropolis. Though the identity of the building is uncertain, however, its resemblance in shape to the elaborately built Thersilium at Megalopolis, the celebrated Telesterium at Eleusis, the Bouleuteria at Priene and Miletus, and the hypostyle hall at Delos tempts one to call it the Bouleuterium. If that identification is correct, we can visualize, to some extent at least, the meeting place of the Sicyonian senate.

⁸⁸ Philadelphus, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1919, p. 99. Cf. *B. C. H.* XLIV, 1920, pp. 383-384; *L*, 1926, pp. 174-182, figs. 1-4.

In a section which Pausanias⁸⁹ designates as being the open part of the market-place stood a number of statues and a temple. Of the bronze Zeus standing here, a work of the native sculptor Lysippus, Pausanias gives no description, but a representation of the statue may be seen on a Sicyonian coin of the time of Caracalla⁹⁰ which shows the god undraped, standing and holding in his left hand a scepter and in his right a thunderbolt. Among extant statues a small bronze in the British Museum⁹¹ is considered the best reproduction of the Zeus in the market-place of Sicyon. Regarding the rest of the objects mentioned: a gilded Artemis, a sanctuary of Wolfish Apollo, bronze images of the daughters of Proetus, an image of Hermes of the Market,⁹² and a bronze Heracles by Lysippus, we know nothing further than that, as Pausanias says, they stood in the same part of the market-place.

Notable among the buildings in the market-place was one not mentioned by Pausanias, the Stoa Poecile. This was built for the Sicyonians by Lamia, the mistress of Demetrius, and therefore probably erected at the time when Demetrius moved the site of the city. Used probably as a gallery for paintings by Sicyonian artists it must have been an important building in its time for it was the subject of a separate work by the antiquarian Polemo.⁹³ Its apparent lack of importance in Pausanias' time was due, possibly, to the fact

⁸⁹ II, 9, 6 f.

⁹⁰ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *J. H. S.* VI, 1885, p. 78 with Pl. LIII, H, X.

⁹¹ No. 275; *Catalogue* Pl. VII.

⁹² The only representations of Hermes from Sicyon are of Hermes the Ram-bearer, the one a bronze statuette (Reinach, *Répertoire*, II p. 553.4), the other on a bronze coin of Julia Domna, representing him between two female figures. We have no mention of Hermes in Sicyon with this epithet in ancient literature. Cf. Svoronos, *J. Int. Arch. Num.* XVI, 1914, pp. 71-80.

⁹³ Athen. VI, p. 253b; XIII, p. 577c.

that by that time it had yielded its treasures to the Romans who carried them off to Rome.⁹⁴

In the vicinity of the market-place Pausanias noted a gymnasium⁹⁵ in which was a stone image of Heracles by Scopas. His topographical allusion 'near the agora' is vague and no certain ruins of the building have been identified. Curtius⁹⁶ saw some ancient foundations near the glen of the Helisson and north of the stadium which he conjectures were remains of this gymnasium. We have more tangible evidence, however, from which to derive a conception of the character of the statue. In the museums of Europe are numerous heads of a youthful Heracles, several of which, in spite of some modifications and variations in style, go back to common originals.⁹⁷ Chief among them is the marble statue of the young Heracles in the Lansdowne House.⁹⁸ Its original may well have been the Heracles of Scopas seen by Pausanias in Sicyon,⁹⁹ the design of which is quite certainly represented on a Sicyonian coin now in the British Museum.¹⁰⁰ Heracles was much esteemed in Sicyon. Aside from the statue by Scopas in the gymnasium mentioned above and his bronze statue by Lysippus in the agora, his was one of the statues made by the Cretan sculptors Dipoenus and Scyllis, perhaps in the time of Cleisthenes.¹⁰¹ We are yet to meet with two other statues to him, one of which was in his sanctuary. This sanctuary stood within an enclosure in a place not specifically designated by Pausanias but he tells us that the whole enclosure was called *Paedize*, that in its center stood the sanc-

⁹⁴ Pliny, *N. H.* XXXV, 127.

⁹⁵ Paus. II, 10, 1.

⁹⁶ *Pelop.* II, p. 494.

⁹⁷ Graef, *Röm. Mitt.* IV, 1889, pp. 189-216.

⁹⁸ Brunn-Bruckmann, Nos. 691-692; Gardner, *Six Greek Sculptors*, Pl. LVI-LVIII; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 297.

⁹⁹ Graef, *l. c.*

¹⁰⁰ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *J. H. S.* VI, 1885, p. 79 with Pl. LIII, H, XI.

¹⁰¹ Pliny, *N. H.* XXXVI, 10.

tuary of the hero and within the sanctuary a wooden image made by Laphaes, a Phliasian.¹⁰²

From the gymnasium in the market-place a street led to an enclosure sacred to Asclepius.¹⁰³ Here was a temple of the god having on one side of the pronaos¹⁰⁴ a sitting image of Pan and on the other side a standing image of Artemis. Enshrined within the cella was the beardless statue of the god, done by Calamis, in gold and ivory, holding in one hand a scepter and in the other the fruit of a pine-tree. Since on extant monuments Asclepius is generally represented as bearded, seldom as young, we can conclude from Pausanias' special remark that here as at Phlius and Gortys in Arcadia the god was conceived of as a youthful divinity.¹⁰⁵ Within this same precinct sacred to Asclepius there stood on the left as one entered, a temple with two chambers and a colonnade; in the outer chamber was an image of Sleep of which nothing but the head remained; the inner chamber was sacred to Carnean Apollo, whose priests only had the privilege of entering it. In the colonnade were statues of Dream and of Sleep, the latter surnamed Bountiful, lulling a lion to slumber.¹⁰⁶ Unhappily Pausanias does not tell us the names of the sculptors nor the characteristics of this group connected with the worship of Asclepius. Furtwängler's conjecture¹⁰⁷ that Scopas was the author of the image of Sleep in the outer chamber is dependent on the argument that the extant statues

¹⁰² Paus. II, 10, 1. I follow Robert (*Pausanias als Schriftsteller*, p. 119 n. 1) in thinking that this enclosure did not contain the gymnasium mentioned above.

¹⁰³ Paus. II, 10, 2.

¹⁰⁴ Following the interpretation of ἐσιούσι and ἐσελθοῦσι as given by Wachsmuth, *Jb. für Phil.* CXIX, 1879, p. 22.

¹⁰⁵ Wroth, *J. H. S.* IV, 1883, p. 49.

¹⁰⁶ Furtwängler thinks that Pausanias may here be referring to the type of Hypnos sleeping on a lion, which is known by later copies (*Masterpieces*, p. 396, n. 5).

¹⁰⁷ *Masterpieces*, p. 396.

of Hypnos in Madrid¹⁰⁸ and the British Museum¹⁰⁹ can rightly be attributed to a bronze original by Scopas, and has in its favor the facts that Sicyon was one of the few places where Hypnōs was worshipped and that we have already associated Scopas with the making of the Bacchante in the temple of Dionysus and the Heracles in the gymnasium.

Near the Asclepieum was a precinct sacred to Aphrodite with a statue of Antiope within.¹¹⁰ But the main object of interest was the sanctuary of Aphrodite with her cult statue. Only two females were permitted to enter the sanctuary; every one else, without distinction, might only view the goddess from the entrance and pray to her from there. Her seated statue, wrought in gold and ivory, representing the goddess with a *polos*,¹¹¹ and in one hand a poppy and in the other an apple was the work of the sixth century Sicyonian sculptor Canachus. Farnell¹¹² regards this as the most striking representation in the archaic period of Aphrodite Urania, the divinity of vegetation, of fruits and flowers, so well suggested in the symbols which Canachus attached to his temple-image.

On the right of the street as one left the Aphrodisium stood a sanctuary of Pheraean Artemis.¹¹³ Her wooden image, said to have been brought from Pherae in Thessaly, is probably the figure imitated on Sicyonian coins of the reigns of Geta and

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Roscher, *Lex.* I, 2, p. 2847.

¹⁰⁹ *Marbles and Bronzes*, p. 7, fig. 4 and Pl. 40.

¹¹⁰ Paus. II, 10, 4.

¹¹¹ As to the various significations of this word see Müller, *Der Polos, die griechische Götterkrone* (Berlin 1915).

¹¹² *Cults of the Greek States*, II, p. 679. No copy of this statue is preserved. On Sicyonian coins of Imperial times Aphrodite appears in the attitude of Venus dei Medici, cf. Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *J. H. S.* VI, 1885, p. 79 with Pl. LIII, H, XV, XVI. Furtwängler identifies with Aphrodite of Canachus a female figure on a gold ring from Mycenae, *Antike Gemmen*, II, pp. 9-10, No. 20, Pl. II, 20; Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l' Art*, VI, p. 841, fig. 425; Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations* (tr. Sellers), fig. 281.

¹¹³ Paus. II, 10, 7.

Caracalla which represent a goddess in long mantle with torches in her raised hands.¹¹⁴

Ascending to a somewhat more elevated place one found the gymnasium of Clinias which was still used in Pausanias' time for the training of boys and contained herm-like statues of Artemis and Heracles.¹¹⁵ It is evident that this gymnasium must be distinguished from the one previously mentioned for the description of Pausanias shows that he proceeded uninterruptedly from the acropolis on the south and northward toward the sea.¹¹⁶

Having completed the tour of the agora Pausanias turned into a street leading to the Sacred Gate on the north¹¹⁷ and came to the temple of Athena. He was then doubtless on the original acropolis since he states elsewhere¹¹⁸ that the ancient acropolis occupied the site where the temple of Athena was in his day. If we are right in identifying the position of the Sacred gate, he was also on the site now occupied by the village of Vasilikó. Here he saw a group of the most ancient monuments of the city. It included¹¹⁹ an altar remaining from the large and splendid temple of Athena which had been burned; in front of it a barrow sacred to Epopeus, and near it

¹¹⁴ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *J. H. S.* VI, 1885, p. 80 with Pl. LIII, H, XVII, XVIII, XIX.

¹¹⁵ Paus. II, 10, 7.

¹¹⁶ Curtius (*op. cit.* II, p. 495), Bursian (*op. cit.* II, p. 30) and Leake (*op. cit.* III, pp. 361-363) identify two gymnasia; Kalkmann (*Pausanias der Perieget*, p. 68) maintains they were the same. The adjective *τοῦτο* modifying *γυμνάσιον* also distinguishes it from the other. Cf. Hitzig-Blümner ad *Paus.* II, 10, 7.

¹¹⁷ On the north according to most topographers. Leake (*op. cit.* III, p. 372, cf. p. 364) thinks it was near Vasilikó at the opening in the cliffs down which a path leads from the tableland to the plain below. Beulé (*Études sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 319) and Curtius (*Pelop.* II, pp. 495, 496, 498) are apparently in agreement with this. Clark (*Pelop.* p. 343) is wrong in placing it on the southern side.

¹¹⁸ II, 5, 6.

¹¹⁹ Paus. II, 11, 1.

statues of the Averting Gods. Neighboring the latter was a sanctuary to Artemis and Apollo, another to Hera erected by Adrastus, in neither of which were statues left at the time of his visit. Behind the temple of Hera were altars sacred to Pan and the Sun.

From the old acropolis Pausanias descended along a street to the site of the old city in the plain where stood a temple of Demeter, named Epopis¹²⁰ from the position it occupied overlooking the plain below. In the plain, but close to the Heroum founded by Adrastus on the old acropolis he saw the temples of Carnean Apollo and Hera Prodromia, both of which were in ruins. At another point in the plain, on the road to the harbor, stood a ruined temple of Hera without a statue, and on the road from the harbor to Aristonautae on the west, before crossing the Helisson, one could see above and to the left of the road a sanctuary of Poseidon.¹²¹

Topography of Sicyonia

The district of Sicyonia was comparatively small. It consisted mainly of the valley of the Asopus which in its upper course is confined between mountains but about two miles from the sea it emerges into a wide, flat plain, Asopia, which stretches eastward between the lowest cliffs and the shore. Scholars¹²² estimate its area at from 360 to 400 square kilometers. Natural boundaries confined the territory on three sides, the Corinthian Gulf on the north, the Nemea river on the east,¹²³ and the Sythas on the west.¹²⁴ On the south it

¹²⁰ Paus. II, 11, 2. Coins of Sicyon show a throned figure of Demeter wearing a *polos* and holding ears of corn in each hand. It has the air of a cultus statute of a temple. Cf. Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *J. H. S.* VI, 1885, p. 80 with Pl. LIII, H, XX. The word *Ἐποπίς* occurs only in Hesychius but it seems to refer to this temple.

¹²¹ Paus. II, 12, 2.

¹²² Beloch, *Klio*, VI, 1906, p. 57; Cavaignac, *Klio*, XII, 1912, p. 274.

¹²³ Strabo, VIII, 382; Livy, XXXIII, 15. Pausanias does not mention it where we expect it in II, 5, 5; 5, 6 or 7, 2.

¹²⁴ Paus. II, 12, 2; VII, 27, 12; cf. II, 7, 7 and 8. Ptolemy (*Geog.*

was bounded by the territory of Phlius. Among the streams of the district besides the already mentioned Nemea, Asopus and Sythas, were the Helisson,¹²⁵ immediately west of Sicyon, and the unidentified streams, the Cephissus¹²⁶ and the Selleis.¹²⁷ The chief dependency of Sicyon was Titane¹²⁸ which lay sixty stadia to the southwest on the left bank of the Asopus and whose main claim to importance was an ancient and much frequented sanctuary of Asclepius.¹²⁹ Ephyra¹³⁰ on the Selleis, and Plataea,¹³¹ the home of the poet Mnasilces¹³² were two demes on sites not yet identified. Toward the west between Aegira and Pellene lay the town Donussa¹³³ which once belonged to the Sicyonians but was at some un-

III, 14, 28) calls it Sys. The Sythas is the modern Xylokaastro, cf. Lolling, *Hellenische Landeskunde*, p. 162. It is also called Trikkala, cf. Curtius, *op. cit.* II, p. 498; Bursian, *op. cit.* II, pp. 314, 341.

¹²⁵ Paus. II, 12, 2; Stat. *Theb.* IV, 52. Cf. Curtius, *op. cit.* II, pp. 483, 496.

¹²⁶ Polemo, *fr.* 81; Strabo, IX, 424; *Schol.* Eurip. *Medea*, 835.

¹²⁷ Strabo, VIII, 338, cf. Eust. on *Il.* II, 603. Curtius (*op. cit.* II, p. 499) thought that a stream flowing into the Helisson from south of Suli was the Selleis or that the Helisson itself was another name for the Selleis.

¹²⁸ Paus. II, 11, 3, cf. Eust. on *Il.* II, 735. Its site, marked by ruins on a spur west of the Asopus a few minutes north of Voivonda, was identified by Ross, (*Reisen im Peloponnes*, pp. 50 ff.). Cf. also Curtius, *op. cit.* II, pp. 500-503; Bursian, *op. cit.* II, pp. 30-31. It was not above Liopesi as Leake (*op. cit.* III, p. 534) thought.

¹²⁹ Paus. II, 11, 6; 27, 1; VII, 23, 8. Cf. Odelberg, *Sacra Corinthia, Sicyonia, Phliasia*, pp. 93 ff.

¹³⁰ Strabo, VIII, 338, cf. Eust. on *Il.* II, 603. Ross (*op. cit.* p. 56) placed its ruins near the present Suli, west of Sicyon.

¹³¹ Strabo, IX, 412. Curtius (*op. cit.* II, p. 505) thought it stood opposite Sicyon on the Asopus.

¹³² Strabo, IX, 421. He is probably the one made a proxenus at Oropus in the middle of the third century B. C. Cf. *I. G.* VII, 395; Wilhelm, *Sitzb. Wien. Akad.* CLXXIX, 6, pp. 8 ff.

¹³³ Paus. VII, 26, 13. This town must be distinguished from Gonussa which Pausanias (II, 4, 4; V, 18, 7) designates as ὑπὲρ *τῆς Σικυωνίας*. On the question of the identity of these towns and

known time destroyed by them. The town was certainly outside historical Sicyonian territory. On the eastern and southern frontiers were mountain fortresses. Epieicia, the scene of warfare between the Lacedaemonians and the Boeotians and their respective allies in 394 and 392 B.C.,¹³⁴ is conjectured to have stood on the left bank of the river Nemea, where it enters the coastal plain.¹³⁵ Deraï was another fortress mentioned by Xenophon.¹³⁶ It witnessed a Sicyonian defeat and capture by the troops of Dionysius I of Syracuse in 369/8 B.C. Its exact site is unknown. To judge from the context it may have stood in the eastern part of Asopia at the foot of the mountains guarding the road to Corinth.¹³⁷ That Phoebia was a Sicyonian town we are informed by Pausanias,¹³⁸ and Stephanus Byzantius (s. v. Φοιβία) mentions it as such. The same geographer mentions a Buphia (s. v. Βουφία), a Sicyonian village, which is probably the same place as Phoebia. Ross¹³⁹ thought them the same and identified the town with some ruins of an ancient Greek fortress situated on a height projecting eastward into the valley of the Nemea, exactly opposite the mountain Apesas. Thyamia, it is evident from the narrative of Xenophon,¹⁴⁰ was a fortress between Sicyon and Phlius and was the scene of warfare between the two states in 366/5 B.C. It is probable that it stood on the right bank of the Asopus on Mt. Spiria, the northern extremity of Mt. Tricaranum.¹⁴¹

the many attempted identifications of their sites see Bölte in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.* VII, pp. 1587-1588.

¹³⁴ Xen. *Hell.* IV, 2, 14; 4, 13.

¹³⁵ Leake, *op. cit.* III, p. 375; Curtius, *op. cit.* II, p. 504.

¹³⁶ *Hell.* VII, 1, 22.

¹³⁷ So Curtius, *op. cit.* II, pp. 504, 586.

¹³⁸ IX, 15, 4.

¹³⁹ *Reisen im Pelop.* p. 40. Bursian, *op. cit.* II, p. 31, n. 2 agrees. Leake (*Pelop.* p. 401) identified with Buphia the ruins of a fortress on Mt. Tricaranum mentioned by Xenophon (*Hell.* VII, 2, 1).

¹⁴⁰ *Hell.* VII, 2, 1; 2, 23; 4, 1 and 11.

¹⁴¹ Ross, *op. cit.* I, pp. 41 ff., cf. Leake, *op. cit.* III, pp. 375-376; Curtius, *op. cit.* II, p. 481.

Regarding the population of Sicyon in ancient times we can arrive at only a rough estimate. At the battle of Artemisium it had twelve triremes,¹⁴² a number which was augmented to fifteen at Salamis.¹⁴³ Its military contingent at Plataea was 3000 hoplites¹⁴⁴ while their number at Mycale is not given.¹⁴⁵ At Nemea in 394 B.C. it had 1500 hoplites.¹⁴⁶ The accuracy of Diodorus' ¹⁴⁷ statement, namely that Pericles in 453 B. C. with only a thousand Athenian hoplites routed the whole citizen body of Sicyon and besieged the city, can hardly be accepted, as shown both by the words of Thucydides ¹⁴⁸ and the evidence of Diodorus himself in recording Pericles' unsuccessful siege of Oeniadae immediately after. Though scholars are not agreed as to the reliability of figures regarding the military strength of the Greek states as given by ancient historians, still an estimate can be struck on the basis of their figures as Beloch ¹⁴⁹ has done who thinks that Sicyon had a military force of from 1500 to 2000 hoplites. At a critical time, however, such as the Persian War, that number was undoubtedly much increased.¹⁵⁰ As to the entire population, exclusive of slaves, Cavaignac ¹⁵¹ estimates, on the basis of one hoplite to eight free inhabitants, that in the fifth and fourth centuries the free population numbered about 24,000 persons.

¹⁴² Herod. VIII, 1.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* VIII, 43.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* IX, 28, 31; Diod. XI, 32, 1.

¹⁴⁵ Herod. IX, 102, 103, 105.

¹⁴⁶ Xen. *Hell.* IV, 2, 14.

¹⁴⁷ XI, 88.

¹⁴⁸ I, 111, 2. Cf. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* III, 1, p. 335 n. 1 and Kromayer, *Klio*, III, 1903, p. 203 n. 4.

¹⁴⁹ *Klio*, VI, 1906, pp. 55-57.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Obst, *Der Feldzug des Xerxes*, *Klio*, Beiheft XII, 1913, pp. 65 ff.

¹⁵¹ *Klio*, XII, 1912, p. 274. Beloch (*Gr. Gesch.* III, 1, p. 276, Ed. 2) estimates the free population at 20,000.

CHAPTER II

NATURAL PRODUCTS, INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE

The material prosperity of Sicyon was derived from the fertility of its soil and its industrial activity. The level crescent-shaped plain from Sicyon to Corinth, twelve miles in length and two to three in breadth, lay, for approximately half its length, under Sicyon's natural command eastward to the Nemea river.¹ This stretch of land, a whitish marl formed by the deposits of fine detritus brought down by the Achaean streams and the rivers of the opposite coast,² was renowned in antiquity³ for its richness and fertility and its possession became a proverbial expression for great wealth.⁴ The expressions of the ancients regarding its fertility and value are substantiated by the abundance of produce on the plain today.⁵ Gardens, orchards, olive groves, vineyards, grain fields and meadows doubtless flourished on the plain and hillsides then as now. So, for instance, Diodorus⁶ observes that the site of the city was not only secure but it had abundance of water and gardens.

The city itself was named after a garden product, the σίκυος, which grew there in abundance, Eustathius⁷ explains. This

¹ Strabo, VIII, 382; Livy, XXIII, 15, 1. See p. 1.

² Neumann-Partsch, *Phys. Geog. v. Griechenland*, p. 353; Philippson, *Der Peloponnes*, p. 118; Leaf, *Homer and History*, p. 238.

³ Livy, XXVII, 31, 1; Cicero, *de lege agraria*, I, 2; Diod. VIII, 21, 3; Lucian, *Icaromenippus*, 18; *Navigium*, 20; Eust. on *Il.* II, 572.

⁴ Aristoph. *Aves*, 968 and scholia; Athen. V, p. 219a; Zenob. III, 57; Liban. *epist.* 371.3 (Foerster); Suidas, s. v. *ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κτήσαιο Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος*; Eust. *l. c.*

⁵ Cf. Blegen, *A. J. A.* XXIV, 1920, pp. 10 ff.

⁶ XX, 102.

⁷ *Il.* XXIII, 299, p. 1302, 19 ff. Athenaeus (*Il.* p. 58 f.), however, equates σικύα with κολοκύντη (cf. Hesychius, s. v. Σικυῶνια. κολοκύντη) the latter of which he explains was a gourd that came

is the common gourd or cucumber, hence the name Sicyon. Hesychius⁸ mentions plums from Sicyon, and Athenaeus⁹ almonds and colocasia¹⁰ which was either an edible, tuberous root or a sacred plant brought there by Alexandrian Greeks and established near the temple of Athena; hence they called her Colocasian Athena. The wild-thyme grew on the mountains¹¹ and was twined and worn as a mask by the phallophori in the theater.¹² A fragrant garland called *ιάκχα* was peculiar to Sicyon¹³ and we have preserved the name of a garland weaver, Glycera, the favorite of the painter Pausias.¹⁴ The sea provided fish, especially congers.¹⁵ The plain was then as now¹⁶ especially adapted to the cultivation of the olive¹⁷ and its oil was recommended by Dioscorides¹⁸ for medicinal pur-

from India. He adds the significant statement that the Megalopolitans call it the Sicyonian gourd. The plant *σικύα* is identified by Thiselton-Dyer (*Jour. of Phil.* XXXIV, 1918, pp. 297 ff.) as the bottle-gourd. This could be used for many purposes. A very specialized instrument made from it, he thinks, was the 'cupping-glass' mentioned by Galen (19,137). He conjectures, therefore, from Athenaeus' statement about the Megalopolitans, that a minor industry in Sicyon was the production of bottle-gourds and their conversion into various articles including 'cupping-glasses.'

⁸ s. v. [ἀ] μάδρνα, κοκκύμηλα, Σικυνώνιοι. Cf. Athen. II, p. 50a.

⁹ VIII, p. 349e. f.

¹⁰ III, p. 72b; Eust. *Il.* XIII, 589 p. 948, 35; cf. Thiselton-Dyer, *Jour. of Phil.* XXXIV, 1918, pp. 301 ff.

¹¹ Theoph. *H. Pl.* VI, 7, 2; Pliny *N. H.* XIX, 172; Athen. XV, p. 681 f.

¹² Athen. XIV, pp. 621 f., 622 c., cf. The *paideros* of Paus. II, 10,

¹³ Athen. XV, p. 678 a., cf. Hesychius s. v. [Φ] *ιάκχα*. ἀνθή ἐν Σικυνῶνι. 6 and Frazer, *Paus.* III, p. 68.

¹⁴ Pliny, *N. H.* XXXV, 125.

¹⁵ Athen. I, 27d; VII, 288c. d; 289a; 293 f.

¹⁶ Dodwell, *Tour Through Greece*, II, p. 292; Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, III, p. 227.

¹⁷ Paus. X, 32, 19, cf. II, 6, 3; Vergil, *Geor.* II, 519; Ovid. *Ibis*, 317; *Epist. ex Ponto*, IV, 15, 10; Statius, *Theb.* IV, 50; Symm. *epist.* III, 23; Eust. on *Il.* II, 572.

¹⁸ *Mat. Med.* I, 33.

poses. We have it on the authority of Athenaeus¹⁹ that the water of Sicyon, like that of Athens, was hard unless mixed with wine, while Pliny²⁰ informs us that its wine was highly esteemed, ranking with the brands from Asia Minor.

Wine and oil together with cereals were the staple articles of diet in the Mediterranean area. Of grains we have no mention in Sicyon but its soil, above the average in fertility, must have produced enough for its own needs.²¹

Part of the territory provided pasturage for horses. Here was reared Aethe, one of the span which Menelaus drove in the chariot race at the funeral games for Patroclus.²² It was 'horse-rearing' Sicyonians who, according to one version,²³ picked up and nourished the foundling Oedipus. The names of the kings, Zeuxippus, Leucippus, and Hippolytus,²⁴ suggest breeders of horses. The famous tyrants of Sicyon, Myron and Cleisthenes, won in the chariot races at Olympia and Delphi.²⁵ One of Demosthenes' charges against Meidias and his wife was their arrogance displayed in driving to the mysteries with a white team from Sicyon.²⁶ And when Aratus engaged a band to help him put down the tyrant Nicocles, he concealed his true purpose by representing to them that it was only an adventure to seize the tyrant's horses.²⁷

Behind the level tableland where Sicyon stood, rose mountains which were covered to some extent with timber. Pau-

¹⁹ I, 33c.

²⁰ N. H. XIV, 74.

²¹ In 197 B. C. the Sicyonians received 10,000 medimni of wheat from Attalus I of Pergamum (Polyb. XVIII, 16) probably because of a crop failure or their fields had been overrun by enemies as by the Romans and Aetolians in 209 B. C. Cf. Livy, XXVII, 31; XXXIII, 3.

²² II. XXIII, 296 ff.

²³ Schol. Hom. *Od.* XI, 271.

²⁴ Paus. II, 5, 7; 6, 7.

²⁵ Paus. VI, 19, 2; X, 7, 6; Herod. VI, 126.

²⁶ XXI, 158.

²⁷ Plut. *Aratus*, VI.

sanias saw at different places in Sicyonia the cypress,²⁸ the juniper,²⁹ and evergreen oaks,³⁰ and Pliny³¹ speaks of its oak trees of remarkable size. The facts that it was the fleet of Cleisthenes which is reputed to have broken the power of Crisa in the Sacred War³² and that both in the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars Sicyon managed to raise a respectable squadron of ships,³³ and that the building accounts for 342/1 B. C. from the temple of Apollo at Delphi enumerate eight individual Sicyonians³⁴ from whom timber was purchased for the rebuilding of the temple, all point to the conclusion that timber was available somewhere in Sicyonia.

Some of its population must have been engaged in industrial callings and trade. Pliny says it was long the seat of important metal work.³⁵ The presence today of copper ore in the mountains along the Asopus³⁶ and the rude mining and metallurgic scenes depicted on some of the *pinaces* found near Corinth³⁷ bear witness that the ancients carried on here extensive operations both in the mining and working of metal. The famous weapons from Argolis and Corinth, and even many of the more artistic bronze productions of the Mycenaean age found in Argolis may have been made by craftsmen of Sicyon.³⁸ The prize at the Pythian games at

²⁸ II, 11, 6.

²⁹ II, 10, 5.

³⁰ II, 11, 4.

³¹ *N. H.* XIII, 138.

³² Paus. II, 9, 6; X, 37, 6; Schol. Pindar, *Nem.* IX, 2. Cf. pp. 55-56.

³³ Herod. VIII, 1; VIII, 43; Thuc. II, 9.

³⁴ Ditt. *Syll.* I³, 248 K² Col. I. The editor thinks the wood came from Cyllene on the south.

³⁵ *N. N.* XXXVI, 9. Strabo, VIII, 382. The name Τελχυνία (Step. Byz. s. v. Σικυών; Eust. *Il.* II, 572) applied to the town also implies this.

³⁶ Blümner, *Gewerbe und Künste bei den Griechen u. Römern*, IV, p. 63.

³⁷ Cf. Furtwängler, *Vasensammlung des Berl. Antiq.* I, pp. 47 ff.

³⁸ Cf. Furtwängler and Loeschke, *Mykenische Vasen*, Vorwort, p. XIV.

Sicyon was of metal—silver goblets according to Pindar.³⁹ A type of bracelet was known as the Sicyonian and some of the so-called Corinthian mirrors of the fourth century may have been made in Sicyon.⁴⁰ Finally the long line of native sculptors who cast their figures in bronze is good evidence of an important industry in metal.⁴¹

The making of vases must also have been an extensive artistic industry if the remarkably fine pottery of the seventh and sixth centuries, the so-called Proto-Corinthian ware, can be assigned to Sicyon as the place of manufacture. On the strength of the literary notices that it was a renowned center of Greek painting⁴² and seat of a great metal industry,⁴³ whose influences are evident in the Proto-Corinthian fabric which has a clear style of figure representation, well developed vase-shapes, and a beautiful and delicate system of decoration suggesting the influence of metal patterns—on the strength of these things many archaeologists favor Sicyon as the place of its origin.⁴⁴ The fact that the ware flooded most of Greece and the Greek cities of the East, and has been found in abundance in Italy and especially at the Corin-

³⁹ *Nem.* IX, 21; X, 23. Cf. Francotte, *Bibl. Faculté Phil. et Lettres de l'Univ. de Liège*, VII, 1900, p. 91.

⁴⁰ Bracelets: Hesychius, s. v. σικωνία. Mirrors: Six, *Jahrbuch*, XX, 1905, p. 167; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, II, p. 732.

⁴¹ It is peculiar that for the large bronze dedication in the treasury at Olympia they imported copper from southern Spain perhaps through the intermediaries, Siris and Sybaris. Paus. VI, 19, 2 f.; cf. Guiraud, *Bibl. Faculté de Phil. et Lettres de l'Univ. de Paris*, XII, 1900, p. 30.

⁴² Pliny, *N. H.* XXXV, 15 and 127.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, XXXVI, 9; Strabo, VIII, p. 382.

⁴⁴ Loeschke, *Ath. Mitt.* XXII, 1897, p. 262; Dragendorff, *Thera*, II, p. 194; Furtwängler, *Aegina*, p. 477; Prinz, *Funde aus Naukratis, Klio*, siebentes Beiheft, pp. 68 ff.; Buschor, *Gr. Vasenmalerei*², p. 48; *ibid.* *Vasepainting* (tr. Richards), p. 34; Wade-Gery, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* III, p. 536; Beazley, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* IV, p. 587; Johansen, *Sikyoniske Vaser*, pp. 144 ff. The latter is the most recent and comprehensive study of them.

thian colony of Syracuse denotes not merely its superiority but also the probability that the great mercantile center, Corinth, was the main distributor of the product.⁴⁵

With Corinth it also shares distinction in other departments of ceramics. Tradition credits the Sicyonian, Butades, with being the inventor of the red coloring of clay at Corinth, thus indicating correctly the place, at least, where the clay and glaze color came about which marks the later Corinthian ware.⁴⁶ And the tradition that the same Butades also invented at Corinth terracotta reliefs as tile-fronts on the eaves of buildings which led to the making of acroteria on temples⁴⁷ has considerable foundation, as far as Corinth is concerned, as we know from the history of this industry there. In this industry Sicyonians were probably also engaged as is shown by a study of the various types of roof-tiles and decorations prevalent before the later Corinthian style of the middle sixth century and best represented by the Heraeum at Argos. This type, it is thought, because of its characteristic style, its decoration and geographical distribution, ought to be assigned to Sicyon.⁴⁸

A few isolated notices of craftsmen are found as, for instance, on a fragmentary building inscription found at Hermione.⁴⁹ Athenaeus⁵⁰ mentions an anonymous tanner. Inscriptions from Delphi mention a Telephanes⁵¹ who worked as a stone-cutter on the temple colonnade in 343/2 B. C., another dating about 330 B. C. records the sum paid a silversmith, Theomnestus, whose name is also recorded as a contractor there in 338 B. C., and a third from 335 B. C., re-

⁴⁵ Buschor, *op. cit.* (tr. Richards), p. 42. See also Kretschmer, *Die gr. Vaseninschriften*, p. 51, no. 35.

⁴⁶ Pliny, *N. H.* XXXV, 152. Cf. Buschor, *Vase painting*, p. 69.

⁴⁷ Pliny, *N. H.* XXXV, 152. Cf. Fowler, *A. J. A.* VIII, 1893, pp. 331 ff.

⁴⁸ Koch, *Röm. Mitt.* XXX, 1915, pp. 106 ff.

⁴⁹ *S. G. D. I.* 3385.

⁵⁰ VIII, p. 352b.

⁵¹ *Ditt. Syll.* I³, 241, line 97; *S. G. D. I.* 2502, line 97.

cords the sum paid an encaustic painter Xenias.⁵² For their treasury at Olympia, built between 480-470 B. C., native craftsmen quarried and dressed the limestone blocks at Sicyon, transported them to Olympia and erected the building.⁵³

A well authenticated industry in Sicyon was the manufacture of shoes which were either transported or imitated elsewhere.⁵⁴ They were made especially for women⁵⁵ so that men who wore them were called effeminate.⁵⁶ Lucian⁵⁷ speaks of Sicyonian 'embas' of white felt which he recommends for rhetoricians who wanted to display their luxury. Yet their price was very low, only two drachmas, according to the courtesan in one of Lucian's dialogues.⁵⁸ Herondas⁵⁹ mentions them in a scene laid in Alexandria in the third century B. C.; they were esteemed in Rome in the last century of the Republic⁶⁰ and their reputation lasted till the end of classical times.⁶¹ The lexicographer Pollux⁶² says that the natives made a kind of headgear which is generally thought to have been a cap of dogskin or weasel made with a visor. Finally the list of Sicyonian products must include the minor

⁵² Theomnestus: Ditt. *op. cit.* 250 F²; 250 D, line 36. Xenias: Ditt. *op. cit.* 251 H. Col. III, 12

⁵³ Dörpfeld, *Athen. Mitt.* VIII, 1883, pp. 67-70; Dyer, *J. H. S.* XXVI, 1906, p. 80.

⁵⁴ On the whole subject cf. K. Erbacher, *Gr. Schuhwerk*, especially pp. 7 and 19; Bryant, *Greek Shoes in the Cl. Period*, *Harvard Stud.* X, 1899, pp. 57 ff. especially pp. 89-90.

⁵⁵ Lucr. IV, 1125; Lucil. III, 53. Hesychius, s. v. Σικνώνια.

⁵⁶ Cicero, *de Orat.* I, 54, 231; Eust. on *Il.* XXIII, 299; Athen. IV, p. 155 c.

⁵⁷ *Rhet. praec.* 15.

⁵⁸ *Dial. Meretr.* XIV, 2.

⁵⁹ *Mime* VII, 57.

⁶⁰ [Vergil], *Ciris*, 169. Cf. Pollux, VII, 93.

⁶¹ Clem. Alex., *Paedag.* II, 11, p. 240 (Potter); Step. Byz. s. v. Σικνών.

⁶² X, 131; cf. Guhl und Koner, *Leben d. Gr. u. Römer*⁶, p. 297.

item of sling stones of lead;⁶³ one of those found bears on it the ironical inscription $\Delta\alpha\beta\acute{\epsilon}$.⁶⁴

A community possessing valuable raw materials and engaged in various industries must also have developed its commerce.⁶⁵ Under her early tyrants, in the seventh and sixth centuries B. C., Sicyon appears as a prominent and prosperous city. It was at that time that Myron dedicated a large bronze chamber which was later housed in the treasury at Olympia, that Cleisthenes commanded in the Sacred War, refounded the Delphic Pythia, dedicated the stoa in his native city, that the Cretan sculptors Dipoenus and Scyllis were engaged in Sicyon, and that the Sicyonian potteries saw their most flourishing period. It was Cleisthenes' fleet that ultimately broke the power of Crisa in the Sacred War in behalf of Delphi, and destroyed the naval power of the state controlling the starting point of the sea-borne trade with the far west. Ure⁶⁶ has studied, from the economic viewpoint, the tyrant's various activities and shows that Cleisthenes' proceedings, particularly at the time when the Euboean commercial cities, Chalcis and Eretria, were on a decline, point to the conclusion that he had the definite aim to change the old trade route from Crisa, Delphi, Thebes and Euboea, to one on which his own city and probably Athens should be the dominating points. Thus the policy of Cleisthenes both toward Delphi and Thebes was one of far-reaching commercial designs.

When we come down to a later period, we have the very definite evidence of coins.⁶⁷ Sicyon was one of the first

⁶³ W. Vischer, *KL. Schr.* II, pp. 273 f.; Musée du Louvre, *Les Bronzes Antiques* (1913), p. 99.

⁶⁴ *I. G.* IV, 432.

⁶⁵ E. Meyer (*Gesch. d. Alt.* II¹, p. 628) says, however, that "Sikyon ist keine Handelsstadt."

⁶⁶ *The Origin of Tyranny*, pp. 258 ff.

⁶⁷ Some of the larger publications are: *Catal. of Gr. Coins*, Br. Mus., *Pelop.* pp. 36-56; Head, *Hist. Num.*², pp. 409-412; Babelon,

towns of the Peloponnesus to begin a coinage, probably before 500 B. C., if the small coin now in Paris, thought to be an obol, can with certainty be attributed to this city.⁶⁸ It bears on the reverse a round incuse divided into four by cross bars. Scarcely later than 500 B. C. a regular silver coinage appears; the rude incuse square is now replaced by an incuse square containing the letter Σ. After the conquest of Aegina by Athens in 431 B. C. and the consequent stopping of the coinage which had been most prevalent in the Peloponnesus, Sicyonian coins were issued in great quantities and became, in fact, one of the prevailing types in the Peloponnesus and continued so until the time of Alexander the Great. From about 325 to 251 B. C. bronze coins of Sicyon are numerous, some of them with a few letters of magistrates' names.⁶⁹ After the time of Alexander when Polysperchon and Cratesipolis, the widow of Alexander, held Sicyon, a large number of tetradrachms were struck there, with the name and type of Alexander the Great. A hoard of them was found near Patrae in 1850. The symbols on them, such as Apollo holding a fillet, and the Chimaera, show that they are undoubtedly Sicyonian. After 251 B. C. when Sicyon joined the Achaean League, bronze Aeginetan triobols were issued for local use. Many of them preserve the names of local magistrates. Contemporary with them were issued silver and bronze coins of

Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines I, 2, pp. 815-822; Regling, *Gr. Münzen der Samml. Warren*, pp. 142-143; Macdonald, *Gr. Coins in the Hunterian Coll.* II, pp. 120-123. Recent discoveries are 190 silver coins at Cardista in Thessaly (Svoronos, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 1916, pp. 329-335 with Pl. H¹); 15 obols and 6 silver coins at Orchomenus in Boeotia (Seltman, *Temple Coins of Olympia*, pp. 111-112); a find at Kyparissia, (Newell, *Num. Notes and Monographs* (pub. by Amer. Numis. Soc.) 3, pp. 4 ff. Cf. Seltman, *op. cit.* pp. 111-113); 26 silver coins at Abae in Phocis (Yorke, *J. H. S.* XVI, 1896, p. 302).

⁶⁸ *Catal. of Gr. Coins*, Br. Mus., *Pelop.* pp. XIII ff., Head, *op. cit.* pp. 409 ff.

⁶⁹ See Head, *op. cit.* p. 410.

the Federal type.⁷⁰ Imperial coins exist from Nero to Geta and are of various types, most of which have been mentioned in connection with the discussion of the monuments in the first chapter.

The Σ which frequently appears on the coins was the device of the city and was also placed on soldiers' shields.⁷¹ The dove, also a type which is common on the coins, Babelon⁷² thinks was chosen because it was sacred to Aphrodite whose sanctuary was one of the principal monuments of the city. And judging from the statues of the Semitic Astarte where the dove is a common emblem and from the symbols attached to Canachus' image of Aphrodite in Sicyon⁷³ we may well believe that monuments or ideas from the East were before the eyes and imagination of the Sicyonians when they adopted the dove as an emblem on their coins. The type appears on bracteated coins of Sparta⁷⁴ and on the Ludovisi Throne and its counterpart now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.⁷⁵ The rather inartistic Chimaera, a lion-serpent-goat figure, also frequently appears. Recalling that this monster was the enemy of the Corinthians, Svoronos⁷⁶ has sought to explain its adoption on the coins as due to the fact that the Sicyonians, neighbors and often enemies of Corinth, thought of it as ravaging Corinth, thus symbolizing the commercial rivalry between the two cities.

⁷⁰ Head, *op. cit.* p. 417.

⁷¹ Xen. *Hell.* IV, 4. Cf. Phot. *Bibl.* p. 532a, 18. On the shield devices of the Greeks see Chase, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XIII, pp. 60 ff. For Sicyon, see p. 77.

⁷² *Traité*, I, 2, p. 819 f.

⁷³ Paus. II, 10, 5.

⁷⁴ *B. S. A.* XIII, p. 165, cf. *J. H. S.* XXVII, 1907, p. 289.

⁷⁵ Studniczka, *Jahrbuch*, XXVI, 1911, p. 62.

⁷⁶ *J. Int. Arch. Num.* XVI, 1914, p. 147.

CHAPTER III

THE HEROIC AGE AND THE DORIAN ASCENDENCY

The Heroic Age

The story of the beginnings of Sicyon and the rule of the kings is told by Pausanias in the second book of his description of Greece. In remote times, so claimed the Sicyonians, they were the Aegialians, sprung from an autochthonous Aegialeus who founded their city Aegialea¹ in the plain. This aboriginal population, an Ionian folk called Πελασγοὶ Αἰγιαλέες by Herodotus,² continued to inhabit this region till expelled by the Achaeans who retired northwards from Argolis, Laconia and Messenia at the coming of the Dorians before the first millennium before Christ. Finally the Dorians conquer-

¹ The old name was Αἰγιάλεια, Paus. II, 5, 6; 5, 8; 6, 2 and 5; 7, 7. Strabo (VIII, 382) and Eustathius (*ad Il.* II, 572) have Αἰγιαλοί. Αἰγιαλός was the old name of Achaea (Paus. V, 1, 1; VII, 1, 1-4; Strabo VIII, 383) and simply means 'coast-land' as Pausanias (VII, 1, 1, cf. Schol. *Il.* II, 575 and *Etym. Mag.* s. v. Αἰγιαλός) explains. Pausanias (II, 5, 6) speaks as if the old name was still in use in his time. The name Aegialea must have been applied to it because it was the chief town of the Aegialians. Cf. Paus. VII, 1, 1 and Hesych. s. v. Αἰγιαλεῖς. οἱ μετὰ Ἀγαμέμνονος στρατευσάμενοι πρότερον Ἴωνες, νῦν δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ ἐν Σικυῶνι. But not only Sicyonia and all Achaea were called Aegialea but even the whole Peloponnesus. Cf. *Etym. Mag.* s. v. Ἀπία; Schol. *Il.* I, 22; Syncellus, I, p. 181 (ed. Bonn). The name evidently spread as in more recent times the name Morea spread from Elis over the whole peninsula. Cf. Curtius, *Pelop.* I, p. 92 and p. 113 n. 39. Other ancient names of the city were Μηκῶνη (see n. 4) and Τελχινία, cf. Step. Byz. s. v. Σικυῶν and Eust. *ad Il.* II, 572. For a time after 303 B. C. it was called Demetrias in honor of Demetrius Poliorcetes. Diod. XX, 102, 2. In the sixth century A. D. it was called New Sicyon (Hierocles, *Synec.*, 10, p. 9, (Burckh.)), and in Byzantine times, Hellas. (Suidas, s. v. Σικυῶν). The present village on the site is called Vasilikó.

² VII, 94; I, 145. Cf. Strabo, VIII, 383; Paus. VII, 1, 1; Kretschmer, *Glotta*, I, 1909, p. 12, n. 1.

ed their city and from this blend of races the Sicyonians of history were sprung.

Of a Mycenaean settlement at Sicyon we have material evidence at the extreme end of the promontory jutting out to the east from the plateau on which stands the village of Vasilikó.³ If we add to this the indirect evidence of physical geography, the evidence of Homer, and the argument from the survivals of the material civilization of the Mycenaean age, we may infer that there was here a Mycenaean habitation of considerable importance. That the rich agricultural district, the plain between Corinth and Sicyon, whose quality of soil was famous in ancient times, was early chosen as a place for human abode, is proved by the fact that in this vicinity there have been found no less than a dozen prehistoric sites. The fertile plain near Sicyon would scarcely have been over-looked. Here at Mecone, as Hesiod⁴ says, Prometheus brought down fire from heaven, the first sacrifice was made and the sacrificial customs of the Greeks were instituted. Political geography tends to show the same high antiquity. The Sicyonian historian, whom Pausanias evidently followed, states that Agamemnon led an army against the city and made it subject to him and to Mycenae.⁵ In the Catalogue⁶

³ Blegen, *A. J. A.* XXIV, 1920, p. 10 with fig. 8. Cf. Fimmen, *Die Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*, p. 9.

⁴ Theog. 535 ff. The episode is of course an aetiological attempt to explain the origin of later sacrificial customs. Cf. Thomsen, *Der Trug des Prometheus in Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 1909, pp. 460 ff. That Hesiod means Sicyon we learn from Strabo VIII, 382; Eust. *ad Il.* II, 572; Step. Byz. s. v. Σικιών; Schol. Pindar, *Nem.* IX, 123; Schol. *Il.* XV, 21. Callimachus (*fr.* 195) refers to the city as Μηκώνην μακάρων ἔδραν αὐτὸς ἰδεῖν and the *Etym. Mag.* s. v. Μηκώνη assigns the origin of the name to the fact that here Demeter first found the poppy. For poppies there in modern times, cf. McMurtry, *A. J. A.* V, 1889, p. 268. Pausanias (II, 6, 5) does not seem to know of this name; he changes from Aegialeia to Sicyon. On the name Sicyon cf. n. 9.

⁵ II, 6, 7. On Pausanias' source, Menaechmus, see Pfister, *Rh. Mus.* LXVIII, 1913, pp. 529-537.

⁶ *Il.* II, 572; cf. XXIII, 296.

the men of Sicyon, under their king Adrastus, are marshalled to fight for Agamemnon at Troy. In fact, it may have been one of the chief towns of Agamemnon's realm.⁷ Mycenae was golden perhaps not because of the surplus of products it could export, nor because of the courage of its king, but the great source lay in trade and industry. It may be more than a shrewd surmise that the industries of Sicyon and Argos, whose clay and bronze products were destined, centuries later, to become the source of their fame, were already in Mycenaean times developed and furnished no small part of those splendid relics of the Mycenaean age so widely diffused in Argolis.⁸ Perhaps the spade may one day determine the extent to which the prehistoric civilization flourished in Sicyon, but lacking that we must be content with the knowledge that a small site is actually known there, that its proximity to several other prehistoric sites, its political geography and artistic history point to its very early occupation.

The list of the mythical kings of Sicyon is given by Pausanias as twenty-three in number before the Dorian invasion. From the autochthonous Aegialeus the rule passed from son to son through Europs, Telchis, Apis, Thelxion, Aegyryus, Thurimachus to Leucippus. He being without sons bequeathed the throne to Peratus, his daughter's son by Poseidon. From Peratus the sceptre passed from son to son, Plemnaeus, Orthopolis, Coronus to Corax who died childless. At this point tradition says Epopeus came from Thessaly and obtained the kingdom. In his reign a hostile army first invaded the land when the Thebans came to rescue the beautiful Antiope. Epopeus died from the wounds of battle and Lamedon, son of Coronus who succeeded to the throne, surrendered Antiope. Lamedon took an Athenian wife, Pheno, daughter of Clytius and when Sicyon came from Attica to fight for him, Lamedon gave him his daughter Zeuxippe to wife. When he got the

⁷ Leaf, *Homer and History*, p. 237 and *passim*.

⁸ Cf. Furtwängler and Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, Vorwort, p. XIV.

throne, the city was named Sicyon⁹ instead of Aegialea. His grandson and successor Polybus gave his daughter in marriage to the king of Argos and when Polybus died Adrastus sat on the throne of Sicyon. On his restoration to Argos, according to Sicyonian tradition, Ianiscus, a descendant of Clytius, the father-in-law of Lamedon, came from Attica and became king. After him follow Phaestus (who migrated to Crete), Zeuxippus, Hippolytus and his son Lacestades. It was in the reign of Hippolytus that Agamemnon made Sicyon subject to Mycenae, and in the reign of Lacestades Phalces with his Dorians seized Sicyon by night and shared the government with him.

Such, briefly, was the accepted tradition about the kings of Sicyon in the time of Pausanias. Material of historical value it does not supply.¹⁰ The chronologists give us a some-

⁹ From Strabo (VIII, 382) and others we learn that the city had been called Aegialea (cf. n. 1) and Mecone (cf. n. 4). The name Σικυών was by the Sicyonians themselves pronounced Σεκυών. For coins with ΣΕ cf. Head, *Hist. Num.*² p. 411. The latter spelling is found in Pindar, *Ol.* XIII, 109; *Nem.* IX, 53; *Isth.* III, 44 and on the bronze lance-head found at Olympia, Roehl, *I. G. A.*³ p. 49, No. 3; on a proxenoi decree from Pisa from 364 B. C., Ditt. *Syll.* I³, 171, and on a decree from Delphi 176/5 B. C., Ditt. *Syll.* II³, 585, l. 274. The tripod dedicated at Delphi in honor of Plataea does not have Σεκυόνιοι however, as is often stated, but Σικυόνιοι, cf. Ditt. *Syll.* I³, 31. δ or η Σικυών were employed. See Eust. ad *Il.* II, 572 and Step. Byz. s. v. Σικυών. The usual form of the name for the whole district is Σικυώνια. The regular adjective is Σικυώνιος, α, ον, Thuc. I, 28; Σικυωνικός, ή, όν or ιακός, ή, όν, Athen. V. 196 e; VI, 271 d. The adverb Σικυώνοθε, of or from Sicyon, Pind. *Nem.* IX, 1; X, 43. The form Σικυώναθεν, *I. G. A.* 326 occurs on an inscription found in Thesaly. The name Sicyon was given the town no doubt on account of the great number of pumpkins or cucumbers grown there. Cf. p. 31. The myth about an Athenian Sicyon originated probably at the time of the co-operation of the tyrant Cleisthenes with the Athenians in the Sacred War.

¹⁰ See Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alt.* V², p. 70, "Historische Ausbeute gewährt die Sage von Sikyon nicht." So also Th. Rempen, *Die Sagenkönige von Sikyon*, 10 pp. Progr. Clausthal, 1853.

what different version. According to Eusebius ¹¹ the annals of the kings of Sicyon were the most ancient in all Greece; their first king, Aegialeus, was contemporary with the Assyrian kings Bel and Ninus. Hence he begins his chronology of Greece with a list of the kings of Sicyon. But the interesting thing in the list is that it differs from Pausanias in that, according to the chronologists, Zeuxippus was the last of the kings, and after him the government was carried on by the priests of Carnean Apollo, six of whom ruled in a space of thirty-three years. Then a seventh priest, Charidemus, succeeded; but being unable to support the expenses of his office, he retired into exile.¹² Pausanias, on the other hand, says that after Zeuxippus there reigned two kings, Hippolytus and Lacestades; and he states that in the reign of the former king, Sicyon was forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Argos. To explain this double list of kings and the divergence of the authorities, C. Frick ¹³ held that the annals of the kings of Sicyon were rewritten in the reign of the sixth century tyrant Cleisthenes, and that the redactors purposely omitted the names of Hippolytus and Lacestades, in order to blot out the fact that Sicyon had been subject to Argos. The seven priests of the Carnean Apollo were a mere fiction of the redactors inserted in the annals to fill up the blank caused by the omission of two kings. But the truth was preserved, he thought, in oral tradition and Pausanias ascertained it by inquiries on the spot (Frazer, *Paus.* III, p. 43). This hypothesis was further elaborated by Lübbert ¹⁴ and scholars ¹⁵

¹¹ *Chron.* I, Vol. 1, pp. 171 ff. (ed. Schoene.) Castor wrote a large work on the chronicles of the kings of Sicyon and then published an epitome of it.

¹² Euseb. *Chron.* Vol. I, p. 176, App. pp. 86, 216 ff. (ed. Schoene.)

¹³ *Neue Jahrbücher für Philol.* CVII, 1873, pp. 707-712.

¹⁴ *Diatriba in Pindari locum de Adrasti regno Sicyonio.* (Progr. Bonn, 1884). *Ibid.*, *Commentatio de Pindaro Olisthenis Sicyonii institutorum censore.* (Progr. Bonn, 1884).

¹⁵ Kalkmann, *Pausanias*, p. 149; Blümner, on *Pausanias*, II, 6, 6;

have since followed this explanation. But doubt has always been felt regarding the reliability of assuming that an oral tradition, insulting to national feeling, could be preserved for twenty-three generations, even maintaining itself against the new redaction by Cleisthenes. Furthermore, Cleisthenes must not have been successful in purging it of the undesirable for the revised list still contains the name of the Argive Adrastus against whose cult he warred (Herod. V, 67) and the new names Polyphides and Pelasgus remind one more of Argos than Hippolytus who was a Sicyonian (Paus. II, 6, 7; Plut. Numa, 4) and his son Lacedaides. The solution of the problem has only recently been presented in an article by Pfister and since the results are of importance both for ancient historiography and the local history and historian of Sicyon, a translation of a part of his article follows.¹⁶

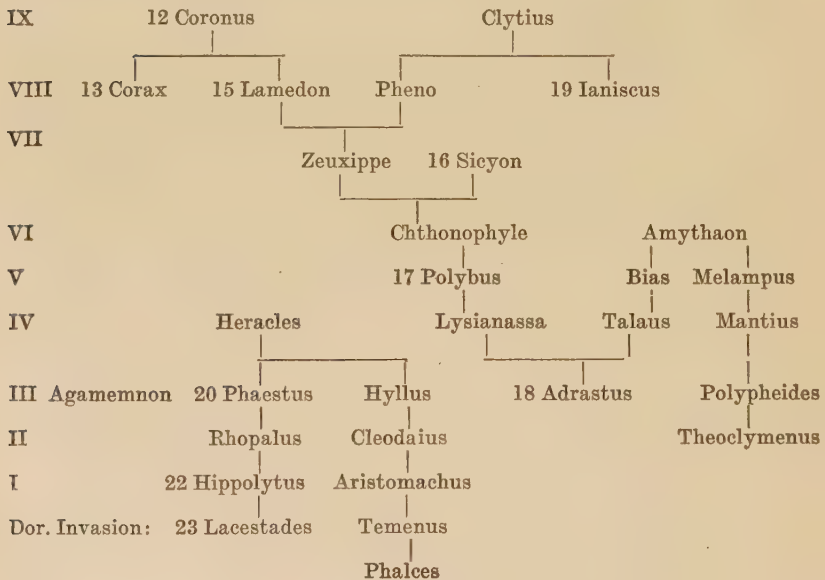
" . . . Pausanias has for the last eleven names of the list: Corax, Epopeus, Lamedon, Sicyon, Polybus, Adrastus, Ianiscus, Phaestus, Zeuxippus, Hippolytus and Lacedaides. The chronologists: Corax, Epopeus, Lamedon, Sicyon, Polybus, Inachus, Phaestus, Adrastus, Polyphides, Pelasgus, Zeuxippus, then thirty-three years of priestly rule. Thereafter follows in both cases the Dorian invasion. The first five names are in both lists identical and are given in the same order. Among the others, three are identical: Adrastus, Phaestus and Zeuxippus; only the order of succession differs. The three remaining names vary, and in addition, the chronologists give one more generation.

" If we examine closely the succession and the genealogy as given by Pausanias and test them by the rule of ancient chronology, there appears at once a series of errors. First of all he contradicts his statement that Agamemnon came

Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* I², p. 665; Vogt, *Jahrb. f. Philol.* Suppl. XXVII, 1902, pp. 752 ff.; Christ-Schmid, *Gr. Liter. Gesch.* I⁶, p. 446, 2.

¹⁶ *Rhein. Mus.* LXVIII, 1913, pp. 529-537. I omit the author's footnotes. Note 17 is my insertion.

to Sicyon after the death of Zeuxippus and that the latter's successor, Hippolytus, became subject to him. For since the death of Agamemnon was chronologically fixed by the fall of Troy (according to Eratosthenes 1184), and the Dorian invasion occurred three generations later, then the son of Hippolytus (Lacestades) can not be contemporary with the Dorian invasion if his father (Hippolytus) lived at the time of Agamemnon as Pausanias says. Ianiscus, however, the nineteenth king according to Pausanias, can not possibly have ruled so late since he, according to the genealogy of Pausanias, lived in the eighth generation before the Dorian invasion. Still less consistent is the statement that Adrastus, who is of the third generation before the Dorian invasion, ruled before Ianiscus as the eighteenth king. This will be clearer when the succession and the genealogy given by Pausanias are graphically represented:



"From this it appears that it was purely chronological considerations which led to an alteration of the list. Because of the impossibility of a relationship between Agamemnon and Hippolytus, the great grandson of Heracles, in the manner stated by Pausanias, the chronologists omitted Hippolytus and thereby expunged also his son Lacestades. The name of Adrastus they could not cancel as he was already named king of Sicyon in the catalog. (*Il. B.* 572.) Still he had to be placed later as in Pausanias. As a substitute for the stricken names they chose Polyphides who, according to the Argive (!) genealogical table, was, like Adrastus, the great grandson of Amythaon. The Argive Polyphides ruled in Sicyon at the time of Agamemnon, a tradition which coincided with the statement of the catalog of ships. But since Phaestus, Adrastus and Polyphides belonged to the same period and nevertheless were accepted as Sicyonian kings, their period of rule had to be greatly reduced. The chronologists therefore gave Phaestus eight years, Adrastus only four, while otherwise a generation is the average. Since thereby the reign of Phaestus, who was also a contemporary of Agamemnon, and his successors up to the last one (Zeuxippus) occupied only a period of three generations (94 years according to Eusebius), there was lacking, when the Dorians captured Sicyon under Phalces' son Temenus, still one generation for which there was no name at hand, and for this reason they added at the end a period of 33 years of rule by priests. Furthermore, Ianiscus naturally had to be discarded because he did not at all fit in with this part of the list because he lived much earlier. To replace him they chose, just as in the case of the stricken name Lacestades, an Argive name, Inachus, perhaps on account of their similarity of sound, and Pelagus, an indefinite name because of its frequency."

"The result is as follows: Since the local tradition of Sicyon as it is found in Pausanias was chronologically unacceptable to the chronologists who incorporated the ancient history of Greece in their universal histories, this tradition

had to be reconciled with the established chronology. Thereby are explained the differences between Pausanias and the chronologists. And from this it is apparent that Cleisthenes can not have been the author of the redaction. This is confirmed also by the fact that Argive names were accepted: Inachus, Polyphides and Pelasgus. The redaction is thus shown to be the work of the chronologists. We find it first in the Athenian Apollodorus and in Castor; a redaction by Cleisthenes is out of the question."

"That Pausanias received his entire account from local tradition in Sicyon he often expressly says. Nine times in this short passage he uses the expressions Σικυώνιοι λέγουσιν—φασίν—φασί—νομίζουσιν—λέγουσιν—λέγουσι—φασίν—λέγουσιν—λέγεται. We must think of a written, not an oral tradition. Lübbert (*op. cit.*) had good reasons for suggesting Menaechmus¹⁷ the native Sicyonian historian, as the source. In fact, the only fragment of this writer which comes into consideration, agrees with Pausanias but not with the tradition of the chronologists: Adrastus, the grandson of Polybus becomes the latter's successor in Sicyon. This also shows that Pausanias, not the chronologists, gives the local tradition. Naturally Pausanias need not absolutely have used Menaechmus, both may be derived ultimately from a Sicyonian annalist."

Sicyon under Argive Ascendancy

The Heroic age of Greece may be said to have come to an end within two generations after the Trojan war. A dark period of several centuries followed which were marked by the disappearance of the old civilization, by the expansion of the Greek race over the Aegean, and by wide political changes in the mother country. The only feature¹⁸ of this epoch of

¹⁷ On this historian see note 5 above.

¹⁸ Whether Sicyon ever attempted to colonize we do not know. Phaestus, one of its mythical kings, is said to have migrated to Crete in obedience to an oracle and became the eponymous ancestor of that

which we have any record in Sicyon is the change in its ethnic and political status wrought by the Dorian invasion. The conquest of Temenus, the eldest of the three Heraclids, originally comprehended only Argos and its neighborhood; from thence the occupation of Sicyon and Phlius was successfully accomplished. Pausanias¹⁹ relates of Sicyon that it was while Lacestades was king that Phalces, the son of Temenus, with his Dorians seized Sicyon by night, and from that time the Sicyonians formed part of Argolis. From Sicyon and Argos, according to the legend, the Dorians went up the valley of the Asopus and seized Phlius; Rhegnidas, the Dorian oecist of Phlius, was the son of Phalces.²⁰

The new element in the population, the Dorian as opposed to the pre-Dorian or Ionic, became the dominant one. Besides the three Dorian tribes, the Hylleis, Dymanes and Pamphyli²¹ we find mentioned a class called *κορυννοφόροι*²² and *κατωνακοφόροι*²³ who are likened to the Helots and the Epeunactes²⁴ and also designated as a class *μεταξὺ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων*.²⁵ This must apply to the pre-Dorian inhabitants, their status being that of bondsmen to the Dorians. The names applied to them indicate that the one was a class of light-armed attendants in war, the other a class of farmers.²⁶

city (Paus. II, 6, 6). Golgoi, an unidentified site in Cyprus, is said to have been a Sicyonian colony (Step. Byz. s. v. Γολγοί). A myth cited by Festus (p. 266 M; cf. Sanders, *Cl. Phil.* III, 1908, p. 317) states that colonists from Sicyon were among the settlers on the Palatine in Rome before the destruction of Troy.

¹⁹ II, 6, 7 and 7, 1. Cf. Strabo, VIII, 389.

²⁰ Paus. II, 13, 1.

²¹ Herod. V, 68.

²² Step. Byz. s. v. Χίος; Pollux, III, 83.

²³ Theopomp. *fr.* 12 = Athen. VI, p. 271 d; Pollux, VII, 68.

²⁴ Step. Byz. *l. c.*; Theopomp. *l. c.*

²⁵ Pollux, III, 83.

²⁶ Schömann-Lipsius, *Gr. Alt.* I⁴, p. 138. They appear to have been liberated by the early tyrants. Cf. Wade-Gery, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* III, p. 554.

Some civil and political privileges must have been accorded the non-Doric element for from it sprang the family of the Orthagorids, of whom Cleisthenes, the most famous, raised himself to royal dignity and for a time subverted the existing Dorian ascendancy and arrogantly degraded the Dorian tribes, changed their tribe names and elevated his own tribe by giving it the complimentary title of Ἀρχέλαοι, or rulers of the people.²⁷

Between the Dorian establishment and the seventh century tyrants there are only scattered allusions to the city. Some notices about battles have usually been referred to this period²⁸ though they most likely occurred when Sicyon waxed strong under Cleisthenes. Such are an unsuccessful battle with Orneae²⁹ in Argolis and war with the neighboring cities Pellene³⁰ and Aegira.³¹ The traditional account represents it as dependent upon Argos, long the leading state in the Peloponnesus. Pausanias³² says it was established as Dorian by Phalces, son of Temenus of Argos and formed part of Argolis. In the Messenian wars it acted in close co-operation with the Argives.³³ This was fought, according to Pausanias, between 685-668 B. C. In the first third of the same century, Pheidon of Argos was energetically re-establishing the ancient prestige of the Argive kings over all the cities of the con-

²⁷ Herod. V, 68, cf. pp. 54 ff.

²⁸ Cf. Geyer, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.* s. v. Sikyon, p. 2535.

²⁹ Paus. X, 18, 5; Plut. *de Pyth. orac.* 15. Urlichs (*Scopas, Leben und Werke*) puts it in the time of Cleisthenes. This seems probable on account of his anti-Argive war. Cf. Wade-Gery, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* III, p. 556.

³⁰ Aelian, *Var. Hist.* VI, 1. This war with Pellene might be the one in which Orthagoras distinguished himself. On Orthagoras see Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyr. Pap.* XI, No. 1365.

³¹ Paus. VII, 26, 2. Cf. Step. Byz. s. v. Αἰγείρα.

³² II, 6, 7; 7, 1; 11, 2. Cf. Strabo, VIII, 389.

³³ Paus. IV, 10, 6; 11, 1 and 2; 14, 1; 15, 7.

federacy.³⁴ Contemporarily there arose in Sicyon the powerful tyranny which determined to end Argive dominance in the city. This leads to the inference that it was the aggressive rule of Pheidon that prompted the uprising in Sicyon under the leadership of a remarkably stable and popular line of tyrants to put an end to the Dorian policy in the city.³⁵

³⁴ Strabo, VIII, 358. On the date and far-reaching designs of Pheidon cf. Bury, *Nemean Odes of Pindar*, App. D. pp. 260-263; Ure, *The Origin of Tyranny*, pp. 154-183. On the date also Macan on Herod. VI, 127.

³⁵ See especially Ure, *op. cit.* p. 179.

CHAPTER IV

THE TYRANTS OF SICYON

The political, social and economic conditions prevailing in the seventh century Isthmian cities of Greece led to the establishment of great tyrant dynasties which continued far into the next century. The movement was marked by hostility to and overthrow of the aristocratic Dorian nobles by wealthy non-Dorians, all of whom were grouped, in most cities, apart from the Dorians, in a fourth tribe of their own. In Sicyon both the tyrants and their supporters belonged to the non-Dorian element in the state, the tribe of Aegialeis. From this tribe sprang a family which led the revolt against the oppressive Dorians, asserted the freedom of the state from Argive influence and brought the city of Sicyon into prominence in Greek history for a period of 100 years.

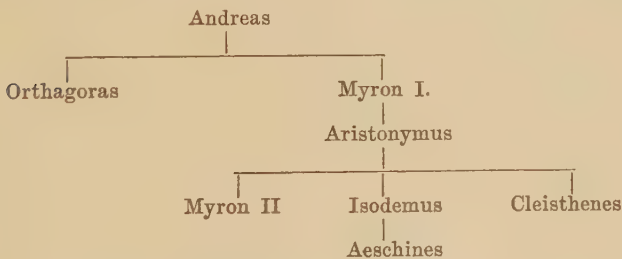
Concerning this family very little is known except with regard to the famous Cleisthenes, whose only daughter, Agariste, married Megacles the Alcmaeonid, and became the mother of the Athenian reformer Cleisthenes. Of his predecessors only a few facts are known; of some, merely the names. Regarding the origin and rise of the founder, Orthagoras, very little has been certain and some have doubted his existence¹ because most genealogies ignore him.² But in a

¹ Some have thought that Orthagoras was only a nickname, e. g. Abbott, *Hist. of Greece*, I, p. 370; Curtius, *Gr. Gesch.* I^o, p. 242.

² The genealogy is variously given. Herodotus (VI, 126) names Andreas, Myron, Aristonymus, Cleisthenes. Aristotle (*Pol.* p. 1315 b, Bekker) says that the tyranny which lasted longest was that of Orthagoras and his sons at Sicyon, this continued for 100 years; in *Pol.* p. 1316 a he treats Myron as the immediate predecessor of Cleisthenes. Pausanias (II, 8, 1), like Herodotus, names Myron, Aristonymus and Cleisthenes, while Plutarch (*De ser. num. vind.* 7) connects the tyranny with an oracle and gives the succession Orthagoras, Myron, Cleisthenes. Nicolaus of Damascus (*fr.* 61), describing

papyrus recently found and published by Grenfell and Hunt³ we now have considerable fragments of a detailed account of the founder of the dynasty. The fragment settles the vexed question of the relationship of the two earliest known members of the family, Andreas and Orthagoras, by showing that Orthagoras was the first tyrant and that Andreas was his father. It also confirms the statement that the tyrants of Sicyon were sprung from a butcher or cook⁴ and shows that Orthagoras himself was bred as a butcher. This, with a brief narration of the military exploits of the youthful Orthagoras,

Cleisthenes' accession, makes Myron, Isodemus and Cleisthenes brothers, assigning to them respectively 7, 1 and 31 years' rule. The discovery of a papyrus fragment relating to an early history of Sicyon (see n. 3) necessitates a revision of the views given by Duncker, *Gesch. des Alt. VI*⁵, p. 78; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch. I*², p. 661, n. 4; Beloch, *Gr. Gesch. I. 2*, p. 285 (ed. 2); Geyer, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc. s. v. Sikyon*, p. 2536. For discussions of the genealogy and chronology see De Gubernatis (*Atti R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, LI, 1915-16, pp. 290-305) who arrives at the following genealogical tree: Orthagoras, Andreas, Myron, Aristonymus followed by his three sons Myron, Isodemus and Cleisthenes. Matilde Denicolae (*Atti R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, LI, 1916, pp. 1219-1228) arrives at the following genealogy of the Sicyonian tyrants. Cavaignac (*Rev. des Ét. Grec. XXXII*, 1919, p. 64) and Wade-Gery (*Camb. Anc. Hist. III*, p. 570) are in agreement with this.



³ *Oxyr. Pap. XI*, No. 1365.

⁴ Libanius (*Orat. c. Severum*, III, p. 251, ed. Reiske) applies it to Orthagoras, while Diodorus (*Exc. Vat. VIII*, 24) applies it to Andreas.

of his favor with the people because of his mild rule, and of his ascendancy to the office of polemarch on active service, are briefly the contents of the fragment.

His successors are given as Myron, Aristonymus, Isodemus, and Cleisthenes. About Myron (probably the first as given in the genealogy, note 2) we have the valuable and interesting information that he gained a chariot victory at Olympia in the 33rd Olympiad (648 B. C.).⁵ In his desire to commemorate the event he dedicated two bronze *thalamoi*, one of which bore an inscription saying it was a dedication by Myron and the people of Sicyon, an inscription which misled Pausanias into ascribing to Myron also the treasury built to contain the dedication about a century and a half later.⁶

The record we have of Aristonymus and Isodemus presents us rather with a genealogical and chronological problem than any historical data. Herodotus⁷ and Pausanias⁸ mention Aristonymus, the son of Myron and the father of Cleisthenes, while Isodemus is mentioned only by Nicolaus of Damascus,⁹ who makes Myron, Isodemus and Cleisthenes brothers. Whether Aristonymus ever ruled we are not told. Isodemus, according to Nicolaus, killed his brother Myron (probably the second as given in the genealogy, note 2), after the latter had ruled seven years. Then Isodemus and Cleisthenes ruled jointly till Cleisthenes displaced him and ruled thirty-one years. Cleisthenes' chronology is fairly clear. He fought in the First Sacred War about 590 B. C., won a chariot race at Delphi in 582 B. C. (Paus. X, 7, 7), and at Olympia probably in 576 or 572 B. C. (Herod. VI, 126). He probably died about 565 B. C. The hundred years of tyranny mentioned by Aristotle (*Pol.* p. 1315b) and Diodorus (VIII, 24) are generally considered to have begun about 660 B. C.

On the accession of Cleisthenes the tyranny became most brilliant and beneficent. The part he took in the Sacred War

⁵ Paus. VI, 19, 2.

⁶ See Dörpfeld, *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2, p. 43.

⁷ VI, 126.

⁸ II, 8, 1.

⁹ *Fr.* 61.

of Delphi, his hostility to Argos and the splendor of his court are the chief facts of which we know. Cleisthenes was highly respected for his military activity says Aristotle;¹⁰ he won more followers than Isodemus because he was aggressive and fear-inspiring, relates Nicolaus of Damascus,¹¹ and often sent out troops to win allies, and Herodotus¹² says he carried on war with Argos. Soon after he became tyrant he played an effective part in the first Sacred War fought about Delphi at the beginning of the sixth century B. C. At this time trouble was brewing between Delphi, the seat of the oracle of Apollo, and Crisa which claimed control over the Delphians and the oracle. Crisa lay on a hill to the west of Delphi at the mouth of the gorge of the Pleistus, commanding its own plain stretching southwards to the sea, and completely commanding the approach to Delphi by sea.¹³ The city had long levied tolls on the merchants and merchandise which passed back and forth on the long journey between the thriving cities of Euboea and their colonies in the far West. Furthermore, when Delphi attracted great crowds of worshippers, the Crisaeans, by commanding the road to it, were able to levy toll on the pilgrims, a practice which stirred the indignation of the Delphians. Desiring to free themselves from the control of the Crisaeans, they appealed to the Amphictyonic Council. This body, on the motion of the Athenian delegate, Solon,¹⁴ warmly espoused the cause of Delphi and declared a holy war against the men of Crisa. Cleisthenes welcomed the chance to go against the impious city. The Amphictyons appointed him to the command,¹⁵ with the result that the Crisaean control of the sea

¹⁰ *Pol.* 1315 b.

¹¹ *Fr.* 61.

¹² Herod. V. 67.

¹³ On the topography and distinction between Crisa and Cirrha, cf. Frazer, *Pausanias*, V, pp. 458-461.

¹⁴ Plut. *Solon*, XI; Aesch. *c. Ctes.* III, 108. Cf. Linforth, *Solon the Athenian*, p. 98.

¹⁵ Paus. X, 37, 6. Cf. II, 9, 6. Ure (*Origin of Tyranny*, pp. 259-

was ultimately broken by Cleisthenes' fleet¹⁶ about 590 B. C.

The result of the war was that the city of Crisa was razed, the inhabitants slain, and the plain below made sacred to Apollo for all time. The Pythian games, too, were re-organized in celebration of the victory, and were held every four years thereafter. The chief promoter of this institution was the Sicyonian tyrant who influenced the Amphictyons to introduce at Delphi gymnastic contests and chariot races in honor of Apollo on the model of those which were celebrated at Olympia in honor of Zeus.¹⁷ In the first celebration of the reformed Delphian Pythia Cleisthenes was himself crowned as victor in the chariot race.¹⁸ In Sicyon he dedicated, from the spoils of the war on Crisa, a magnificent stoa¹⁹ and instituted, on the model of those at Delphi, Pythian games in honor²⁰ of Apollo. In Delphi he probably erected the treasury whose foundations have recently been uncovered.²¹ Probably at this time, too, the Sicyonians contracted with the most reputable sculptors of the time, the Cretans, Dipoenus and Scyllis, for statues of Athena, Heracles, Apollo and Artemis,²² and were building their treasury in Delphi if the metopes found there belong to his Sicyonian Treasury.

260) believes it was Cleisthenes' ambition to crush a commercial rival. This seems plausible or else it was to gain sanction for his rule.

¹⁶ Schol. Pind. *Nem.* IX, 2; cf. Polyæn. *Strat.* III, 5; Front. *Strat.* III, 7, 6.

¹⁷ Bury, *Nemean Odes of Pindar*, Appendix D, p. 249.

¹⁸ Paus. X, 7, 6.

¹⁹ Paus. II, 9, 6, cf. Schol. Pind. *Nem.* IX, 2. For possible remains of this see p. 19 and note 86.

²⁰ Cf. Pindar, *Nem.* IX, an ode in honor of a victory at Sicyon in the chariot race won by Chromius of Aetna, celebrated in 427 B. C. but the victory was won years before. Cf. *Ol.* XIII, 109 and Schol. 148, 155 in honor of Xenophon of Corinth for victories at Olympia in 464 B. C. He had previously won at Sicyon. (Cf. also Schol. *Nem.* IX, 20, 25; Schol. X, 49, 76). See also Hedeia (Ditt. *Syll.* II³, 802 a) who won there probably 44 B. C.

²¹ Pomtow, *Zeitschr. Gesch. Archit.* 1910, p. 126; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.* Suppl. IV, pp. 1371-1373. ²² Pliny, *N. H.* XXXVI, 9.

Cleisthenes' violent opposition to the Dorians led to a war with Argos.²³ Sicyon had long been under Argive control. The non-Dorian element in the state, from which he himself was sprung, was dominated by an aristocratic Dorian element. The tyrant's passionate hatred against Argos can probably be ascribed to the circumstances that the Dorian aristocracy in Sicyon just now found their strongest support in Argos where about this time the aristocracy had won the upper hand over the kingship.²⁴ What Herodotus tells us of the war against Argos shows plainly that Cleisthenes proceeded to dissolve the union existing between the two cities, and to make his city fully independent of Argos. His reforms to effect this were three-fold, partly religious and partly political in nature: 1. The expulsion of the cult of the mythical king Adrastus; 2. Suppression of the Homeric recitals; 3. Alteration of the tribe-names.

Adrastus, the king of the Aegialeans, was represented by the Dorians also as king of Argos. His name was celebrated in Sicyon and Argos in memory of the ancient alliance-in-arms against Thebes. His sanctuary in the market-place of Sicyon and his cult were a continual reminder to the Sicyonian of a union with Argos. The account given by Herodotus is familiar: how the tyrant's proposal was repulsed when he approached the Delphic oracle, how he ejected the hated hero from the city by the curious process of burying beside him the body of his bitterest enemy, the Theban Melanippus, and transferred to him the sacrifices and festivals wherewith Adrastus was wont to be honored. In the reformed festival the tragic cho-

²³ Herod. V, 67-68. For Cleisthenes' friendly relation to the Cypselidae of Corinth in this movement see Herodotus (VI, 128. Hippocleides was in favor with Cleisthenes because his ancestors were of kin to the Corinthian Cypselidæ) and Nicolaus of Damascus (*fr.* 61. Isodemus lives at the Corinthian tyrant's court).

²⁴ Cf. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* I², p. 664, n. 4.

ruses were given to Dionysus,²⁵ while Melanippus was honored with the rest of the sacred rites.

Whatever else may have been the motive of this reform, it had a decided political effect. National unity was paramount for a tyrant whose support lay in the democratic element of the population. To attain this it was necessary to encourage festivals and cults which were universal and popular, replacing such as were for the aristocratic and exclusive worship of the nobles. Such would seem to be the purpose of the introduction of Dionysiac worship by Periander at Corinth.²⁶

This treatment of the memory of Adrastus and his subsequent removal and the introduction of Melanippus to be the hero of Sicyon had its effect in Argos. We know from Plutarch²⁷ that during the reign of Cleisthenes, Cleonae became subject to Sicyon but before the death of the tyrant, she, with the help of Argos, threw off the yoke. In celebration of this deliverance, Cleonae reinaugurated in 573, with the support of Argos, the Nemean games, formerly held in honor of Heracles but now instituted in honor of the hero Adrastus.²⁸

To anti-Dorian and anti-aristocratic motives was also due Cleisthenes' second reform. Herodotus²⁹ tells us briefly that Cleisthenes forbade the contests of rhapsodists at Sicyon be-

²⁵ The Greek is Διονύσω ἀπέδωκε. On the meaning of the verb in this case, cf. Macan, *ad Herod.* V, 67. The passage is important in the theory of Ridgeway, *The Origin of Tragedy*.

²⁶ Dyer, *The Gods in Greece*, pp. 125-126. Cf. Greenidge, *Handbook of Gr. Const. History*, p. 33; Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alt.* VI⁵, p. 58.

²⁷ Plut. *De ser. num. vind.* 7. Cf. Curtius, *Gr. Gesch.* I⁶, p. 253; Bury, *Nem. Odes of Pindar*, App. D, pp. 250-251. Probably the defeat at the hands of the people of Orneae is to be placed at this time (Curtius, *op. cit.*, p. 233 with note) whose dedicatory offering in honor of it Pausanias (X, 18, 5) and Plutarch (*de Pyth. or.* 15) saw at Delphi. Its remains have been found. Cf. Pomtow, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* XXXII, 1912, p. 476.

²⁸ Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alt.* VI⁵, p. 89; Bury, *l. c.*; Wade-Gery, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* III, p. 556.

²⁹ V, 67.

cause in the "Homeric poems" Argos and the Argives were so constantly the theme of song. The question has often been disputed ³⁰ whether Cleisthenes' objection applied to the Iliad and the Odyssey or to the lost Thebais and Epigoni, or the Thebais—Epigoni in which Adrastus must have been the chief hero. As far as Cleisthenes was concerned, anything which glorified Argos and Argives or Argive heroes must have been peculiarly offensive to such an ardent hater of the Argives of his day.

How completely Cleisthenes severed connections with Argos in his Argive war we learn from his renaming of the tribes. As already stated there was, besides the three Dorian tribes, the Hylleis, Pamphyli, and Dymanes, a fourth tribe of the pre-Dorian population, the Aegialeis. Herodotus ³¹ explains that in order that the Sicyonians might not have the same tribes as the Argives, Cleisthenes substituted for the Doric tribes, the names Swinemen, Assmen and Pigmen ³² and for his own tribe the name Archelaoi, *i. e.* rulers. These derisive names remained for sixty years after Cleisthenes' death, when the old Dorian names were restored and Archelaoi reverted to Aigialeis. It seems that the Dorian tribes of Argos and Sicyon mutually supported each other against the tyrant's anti-Argive and anti-Dorian regime and in punishment of this Cleisthenes made a mockery of the tribes of the two cities, aiming particularly at Argos. How the Dorian tribes of Sicyon could be persuaded to adopt and maintain for a period of sixty years names that slighted the most of the people is unintelligible unless Cleisthenes or his predecessors liberated the serfs ³³ from vassalage and military attendance on the Doric tribes and thereby increased the non-Doric one which

³⁰ See Macan, *ad Herod.* V, 67; Scott, *Cl. Phil.* XVI, 1921, pp. 20-26; Fitch, *Cl. Phil.* XVII, 1922, pp. 37-43.

³¹ V, 68.

³² Cook (*J. H. S.* XIV, 1894, p. 169) suggests that the tribes of Sicyon worshipped the pig and ass and adopted them as their symbol.

³³ See p. 49 and note 26.

supported the tyrants and continued to have the upper hand in the state.

It is reasonable to suppose, as most historians do, that Cleisthenes had no male heir in view of the great importance attached to the marriage of his daughter, Agariste, who was to be an heiress, not to his power but to his wealth. Herodotus³⁴ gives us a lively and amusing story of her wooing and marriage—a story held by some scholars to contain more romance than reality.³⁵ Her father wanted to select the best among the Greeks as his daughter's husband. So he proclaimed at an Olympian festival at which he himself won in the chariot-race³⁶ that all who aspired to the hand of his daughter should assemble at Sicyon, sixty days hence, and be entertained at his court for a year. At the end of the year he would decide who was most worthy of his daughter. The news attracted to his royal halls those among the Hellenes most highly distinguished by birth, wealth, and gifts of mind. From the towns of lower Italy, from Epidamnus, Thessaly and Euboea, Arcadia and Elis, Aetolia, Athens and even Argos came the suitors. The year was spent in daily intercourse, gymnastic exercises and tests of social accomplishments. The two Athenians, Hippocleides and Megacles, gained the father's preference. The day appointed for the decision came and Cleisthenes sacrificed the festive hecatomb with all the Sicyonians as guests. After the feast the suitors competed in music and general conversation. Hippocleides distinguished

³⁴ VI, 126-130. Cf. also Athen. VI, 273 b. c.; XII, 541 b; XIV, 628 c, d; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* XII, 24; Diod. VIII, 19.

³⁵ So Grote, *Hist. of Gr.*, III, p. 39, note; Kirchhoff, *Die Entstehungszeit des Herodotischen Geschichtswerkes*, pp. 42 ff.; Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alt.* VI⁵, p. 90; Stein (*Herod. ad loc.*) suggests it comes from a Pindaric poem. Zühlke (*De Agaristes Nuptiis*, pp. 30 ff.) shows that points in the story indicate an Italiote source or at least an Italiote interest. Still the fabulous element in the story need not invalidate the historic substance. Cf. Macan, *Herod.* Vol. II, App. XIV, pp. 310-311.

³⁶ Generally dated 576 or 572 B. C.

himself above all others, and, confident of the prize, betrayed the hilarity of his mood, bid the flute-player strike up, and began to dance. Cleisthenes, at first surprised at his behavior, became disgusted when Hippocleides called for a table and danced Spartan and Attic dances. But finally when the favored suitor proceeded to dance on his head, performing an antic ill-becoming the occasion,³⁷ Cleisthenes indignantly exclaimed, "O son of Tisander, you have danced away your bride!" The rejected suitor only replied, "What does Hippocleides care?"³⁸ and danced on. The father favored the more self-contained Megacles and to him was given the hand of Agariste. His son was Cleisthenes the lawgiver, and among his descendants were Pericles and Alcibiades.

The presence of suitors from the noblest Athenian families, the Philaid Hippocleides and the Alcmaeonid Megacles, seems to show that a marriage connection with the tyrant of Sicyon was fraught with political significance. The two Athenian families may have been trying to regain that pre-eminence at home which shortly before had been terminated by the reform of Solon. Cleisthenes died about 565 B. C. Whether Megacles attempted to succeed his father-in-law is unlikely; we find him soon after entangled in the party strifes of Athens.

Under Cleisthenes Sicyon was one of the great powers of Greece. But within a decade after his death Sparta was building an organization whose successes changed the political aspect of the Peloponnesus and made her the predominant power in the peninsula. By the end of the sixth century she had bound to the Peloponnesian League of which she was the head, the whole of the peninsula except Argos and Achaea.

³⁷ Cook (*Cl. Rev.* XXI, 1907, p. 169) argues that it was a Theban dance. But cf. Solomon, *ibid.* pp. 232-233. For the relation between the stories of the misconduct of Hippocleides and the Oriental story of the Dancing Peacock see Macan, *Herod.* Vol. II, App. XIV, pp. 304-311.

³⁸ A proverbial phrase in Athens. Cf. Zenob. V, 31; Diogenianus, VII, 21; Suidas, s. v. οὐ φροντὶς Ἰπποκλείδῃ.

Beginning about 560 B. C. she won the adhesion of Tegea and other Arcadian cities, thus opening the way for Spartan intervention on the Isthmus, where she won a great name as a liberator and expeller of tyrants. In Sicyon there was a tyrant ruling named Aeschines.³⁹ He was expelled by Sparta about 556 B. C.⁴⁰ An oligarchy was set up but no thorough-going reforms were instituted as the derisive tribe names introduced by Cleisthenes continued in use till the end of the century when they were dropped, probably under the reviving influence of Argos. But Sicyon continued for a long time afterwards as the steady ally of Sparta.

³⁹ Plut. *De Herod.* Malig. XXI; *Catal. of the Greek Papyri of the John Rylands Library*, p. 31, No. 18.

⁴⁰ For the date see Wade-Gery, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* III, p. 568.

VITA

Charles Hannord Skalet was born at Ulen, Minnesota, December 23rd, 1892. After attending the public school there, he entered Park Region Luther College at Fergus Falls, Minnesota, where he completed his preparatory training and three years of college work. From September, 1917, until December, 1918, he was in the United States Army and immediately after his discharge entered Luther College, Decorah, Iowa, where he received his baccalaureate degree in 1919. The following year he taught in a secondary school. In the autumn of 1920 he entered the Johns Hopkins University and pursued graduate work in Archaeology, Ancient History and Greek. He also attended courses offered by Professors Latané, Vincent, Bloomfield and Dr. Blake. In 1922 he received the degree of Master of Arts and in 1922-1923 he was Vogeler Fellow in Archaeology.

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